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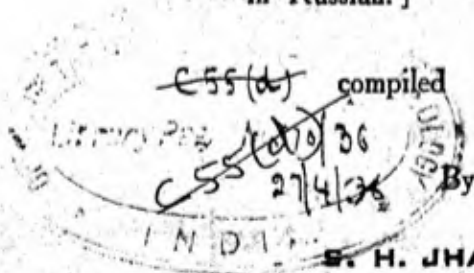
OF

G. K. NARIMAN

(ORIENTALIST AND LINGUIST)

[Woman in Sassanian Law
and

English translation from Barthold's Iran
in Russian.]



S. H. JHABVALA

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Nariman

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Mr. Gushtasp K. Nariman

Born 9-8-1873.

Died 4 April 1933.

Author of :-(1) "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism", (2) "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature", from the Russian of Inostramzev; (3) "Priyadarsika", jointly with Jackson and Ogden; (4) "Religion of the Iranian Peoples", from the German of C. P. Tiele.

A. N. 706

FOREWORD

27/4/36
Parsi Review
In whatever way people might differ in their estimate of G. K. Nariman, in one matter they would all agree that India possesses few scholars of international reputation which he had acquired. All his life he was a scholar and a voluminous reader; and so he had formed a broad outlook on life before which all narrow views vanished; and having formed his convictions, he had the courage to announce them notwithstanding their opposition to accepted views of the majority of people.

In subjects of scholarly interest he had not much to differ from accepted views; but he had formed certain views on the Parsis' religious beliefs of the later days and on their knowledge of Iranian social structure in Sassanian times, which brought him in grave conflict with the orthodox section of the community who honestly resented his outspoken ways, but had no means of contradicting his opinions.

Mr. Nariman's opinions were honestly formed and candidly proclaimed. But fortunately for the vindication of existing Parsi beliefs they were not ground-

ed on sound foundations, for, his assaults on the Yasht religion and on Sassanian social structure were based on faulty translations of our Holy Scriptures and on mistakes late Dr. Bartholomae committed in understanding the meanings of certain technical terms relating to different modes of matrimonial connections prevailing in Sassanian times.

Had Mr. Nariman known that the Yashts glorify God's Holy Attributes and Powers in their individual character, and, in so doing, poetically compare one Attribute and Power with another, and place one above another accordingly, he would have seen beauty and profundity in the themes rather than absurdities and irrationalities. If Divine Justice or Mithra is required to be as much adored and worshipped as Holy Wisdom or Mazda there is nothing wrong in the concept to offend his rationalistic sensibility; rather he would have been more satisfied with the idea than with what he thought best in ignorance of this profound meaning. Similarly if the Yashts tell us that the inherent goodness and tendency for spiritual progress in the spiritual essences or the Fravashis, helped God in the work of ordered and progressing Creation, the truth of it is too apparent to cause any resentment in a rational soul at that idea.

The argument may thus be continued through all the holy themes of the Yashts. And excepting sometimes the quaintness of expression, the themes would profoundly impress any rationalistic soul as Mr. Nariman was.

Mr. Nariman confesses that the chief reason for holding a low opinion of Sassanian social structure was the clumsy social relations said to have prevailed in those days according to the meanings Dr. Bartholomae had given to certain terms in a Pahlavi law treatise known as the Matikan e Hazar Datastan. We have already shown that these meanings were entirely incorrect and formed in ignorance of a guiding help which was available in works of Dr. West and in other sources.

It would appear however that an explanation of this matter in this place should be necessary in view of the fact that Mr. Nariman has been vehement in his condemnation of Sassanian social order in the following pages. This writer is specially qualified for doing so as having completely translated the above celebrated work, and it need hardly be added that the publication of this translation in the near future will give a further conviction to the reader when that will be available to him.

Matrimonial relations were formed in five ways in Sassanian Iran :—

The first related to the *Patakhshae* marriage in which the maiden wife married with the consent of her parents or guardians and gained the fullest privileges of her condition in her parents' and her husband's home.

The second related to the *Khutshrae* marriage in which the maiden married without the consent of her parents or guardians and had to lose thereby some of the privileges the *Patakhshae* wife possessed.

The third related to the *Chakar* marriage in which a widow remarried. A widow marrying again could hardly possess all the privileges the *Patakhshae* wife had; and so the wife who married as *Chakar* had fewer rights in her second husband's home than she had in her first's.

It should be noted however that a spinster marrying a widower or a widow marrying a bachelor too would be *Chakar* class of wives, but should have more rights and privileges than a widow marrying a widower.

The fourth related to the *Aevakkin* marriage in which a man's only daughter was married to a man with the condition that the wife's father should have the right to adopt a son of hers as his own, and failing a son a daughter too. The child so adopted would of course inherit the grandfather's property and its parents, especially the mother, would be getting some gift from him by way of compensation. The fifth, and the last, related to the *Sutur* marriage in which the relatives or the executors of a deceased unmarried person got an ideal marriage ceremony performed in relation to him and for his spiritual benefit. By this ceremony the relatives or the executors of the deceased man provided dowry and expenses of marrying a spinster to a living person provided she agreed to be married first in a religious and ideal way to the deceased man, and both she and her husband promised to give a child of theirs, preferably a son in adoption to the deceased.

Numerous poor people's daughters would be found to undergo the preliminary ceremony and be settled by that means in matrimonial life without

worrying their parents or guardians with finding the means for doing so. Often a relationship would thus grow up between rich and poor families resulting in great benefit to the latter, and some children born thus to poor people would be adopted in rich families.

The woman or girl thus marrying would be known to have married in the Sutar way and as the Sutar of the deceased person.

This last form of marriage might appear to some people as an oddity; but it was the natural result of the ancient Aryan desire that the family continuity should be religiously maintained; and a wise regulation to that end, resulted in this case in bringing immense benefit to society.

All these were wise and creditable regulations for which Sassanian society deserved congratulations, and not condemnation. Modern society, with its high claims to civilization, has nothing comparable to this to show. It is easy to see that society must have been far more happy and peaceful in ancient Iran than anywhere else in the world now or then.

Mr. Nariman also quotes a certain writing advocating absolute obedience in the wife towards the husband. For ought we know, this was only the writer's personal view, for neither religion nor history has anything to support that view. We may just consider a few cases from history to contradict it.

We may start with the holy life of righteous Zarathushtra. As a young man he refused to marry a girl he did not approve or a girl who refused to regard him as her equal; for it is noted that he declined to accept as wife a maiden who felt shy in his presence, which act he considered as confession of her inferiority to him.

Can anyone say indeed that a Rudabeh, a Tehmina, a Manijah, a Gordafrið, a Ketayun or a Hutaosa would be the sort of woman, framed to fill the role advocated above? They all were free and bold ladies, unworthy or incapable of fulfilling a state of inferiority in life.

Even in Achoemenian times we find a number of instances in which women filled a large and honoured place in society; and while a Perisates was an instance of an extreme type in one way, the

noble Empress Statira was an angel placed in high state doing her part gloriously in her home and in the world and spreading delight in the hearts of all the people among whom she moved.

In Arshkanian times too ladies had a high status in society and filled honoured posts as did the Lady Artadokht in the house of Artabanus, the last sovereign of that house; and apparently she was a typical instance of bold and free womanly character of those days.

We have clearer instances of bold and free womanhood in Sassanian times. The young lady Prince Shahpur encountered at the well, was a picture of bright, bold and noble womanhood, a typical Iranian girl who would refuse to fill any position in society inferior to her husband's. The ladies of Behram's house were equally bold and daring, and had their type in Lady Shirin, the Sassanian empress who shone like a jewel in the glowing life of the great conqueror Chosroe Parviz.

Another incident from the life of this great prince illustrates men's fascinating attitude towards their wives in Sassanian times. It is said that when the Roman princess whom he was to marry arrived

in his camp, he proceeded to her carriage, bowed to her and kissed her hand. Where in the world anything comparable to that happy and inspiring picture, was found in the rest of the world then, or is found even now, excepting in a small part of the world ?

Other instances might be found to support our contention ; but none would be more convincing than those assumed in the same great treatise on law whose misinterpretation led Mr. Nariman to form erroneous views about Sassnian society. Woman is everywhere regarded as man's equal in that treatise, indeed even supreme in her own sphere of domestic life. As a counter-part to the Katak-Khutae or the Lord of the House she was the Katak-Banuk, or the Lady of the House, playing a more honourable and a more useful role in life than anything found in modern days.

On rights and privileges of woman in society the treatise has so vast a matter, that none who would read it, would have the slightest doubt on that issue. It would be encroaching too much on the small space available to discuss them here ; and so all we can do is to request the reader to wait a little while for the publication of translation of

that great treatise, and then to form his or her own opinion in the matter.

In the following pages Mr. Shavak Jhabvala is describing the successful career of late Mr. Nariman and also bringing out an unpublished work of his. Among Mr. Nariman's papers was found a translation of Barthold's "Iran" in ms. form Mr. Jhabvala is publishing it in the major part of the following pages. Barthold's view of old Iran might not be all correct, but his work is teeming with information of very great value and interest, and one feels sure that it will both instruct and entertain the reader who goes through it. It is hoped Mr. Jhabvala will be adding to it an Errata Table in the next edition as some slips have entered the work probably through no fault of his.

Sohrabjee Jamshedjee Bulsara.

Jogeshwari, 20th June, 1935.

G. K. Nariman

A SCHOLAR & LINGUIST.

Few scholars of international repute, contemporaneous with Gushtasp K. Nariman, well known in his palmy days by his versatile genius of Journalism and Authorship on various subjects, ranging from religion down to politics, have achieved as great a name and fame, among the Indian races, as the subject of this our Biography. I do not presume to write an exhaustive account of this famous Orientalist, Scholar and Linguist; but I shall content myself, with only giving a brief sketch of his remarkable career. During the short span of a life of less than sixty years, this man achieved for himself a reputation, which was not only nation-wide in its extent but also international, which means a great thing for an Indian, stationed as he was in life amidst trying environments, both social and economic. I remember often visiting him, when I found him immersed in books, which one dared not open, except with tremor and fear, for the reason that the language, as well as the subject, was such, as could not fall within the purview of an ordinary and casual reader. I also remember

him working in the midst of busy typists and stenographers, when he dictated a number of articles, both political, social, moral and philosophical, which he contributed to a large number of magazines and papers, published both in this country and elsewhere. Therefore, this is but a short survey of what I know of Nariman, as a scholar and also as a man.

Let me not hesitate to state that, during the last days of his remarkable career, he also interested himself in the political problems of his motherland, which he loved so much, and in that direction, he did his best, by trying to bring about a kind of unity of ideas and interests, among the various conflicting classes, prejudices and communities in our country. I need not here say, in passing, that some of the most eminent leaders of the country visited him at his place of residence in order to seek at the fountain-head of knowledge, if there were any means and measures to be adopted, with regard to particular national problems. And this profound scholar gave them the benefit of his deep knowledge, by guiding them aright. One of his pet subjects was Hindu-Moslem unity, in which direction, his attempts were calculated to achieve a large measure of success.

Origin and Birth:—Referring to the genealogical table of G. K. N. it should be noted, that he descended from a direct line, that could trace

its origin even to the very founder of his religion. But coming nearer our times we would find that he descended from Dastur Kaikhusro, who died in 1869, who descended from the famous Mulla Firuz, who was one of the three famous High Priests, who preserved and propagated the cause of Zoroastrianism in Gujerat, during the time he lived. Dastur Kaikhusro had his relations with Ardeshir Kotwal, the famous hero of the Parsis in the early days of the East India Company. Dastur Kaikhusro had a son, named Dastur Noshirwanji, who was renowned as a scholar, both of Avesta and Pehlavi, and in the year 1857, when the Great Mutiny was raging he was the translator of Persian into Gujarati on behalf of the East India Company. If Gushtasp proved himself to be an able Censor in the days of the Great War, which post he occupied with remarkable success in Bombay, it might be easily attributed to his having inherited this linguistic talent from Dastur Nusserwanji of Surat. Dastur Nusserwanji largely followed the profession of a head-priest or Dastur. He had a daughter, Khorshedbai, who afterwards became Gushtasp's mother. All his genius could very well be traced from his maternal line. His father, late Col. Nariman, was one of the very early members of the Indian Medical Service. Col. Nariman was sent to England in the days, when it was believed that all who went to England ran the risk of being converted to Christianity! This was also

one of the main objections, raised by the Parsi community, against other students, going to England, pre-eminently in connection with Dadabhai Naoroji, when it was suggested by the Principal of the Elphinstone College, that he should go to England to pass the higher legal examination, for which he was supposed to be fit. Col. Nariman was sent by his father for his degree of I. M. S. when Colonel Reporter, who also succeeded in securing the degree along with him, was studying with him in England. It might be stated here that at first, Indians were hard put to it, in the matter of appearing for such higher examinations, as the I. C. S. and I. M. S. In this connection, the famous case of one Dr. Colah which interested Dadabhai Naoroji, and other European friends of India, who felt and thought with Dadabhai, might be stated here in passing. Colah was fit for I. M. S. in every respect; but the colour bar was raised, and he was put out, but the case was ably taken up by Dadabhai, and others, and the doors of I. M. S. were opened before Indians, as a matter of course. Col. Nariman passed a large part of his career as Civil Surgeon in Surat, where he was so popular that when he was transferred, the public petitioned to the Government to retain his services there. He served in the Afghan War, 1880, and the Burma War, 1886, and in the latter, on a unique occasion, even though he was a medical officer, he acted as a

combatant officer in charge of a convoy. The following from the Officer in Command of Ningyan Field Force speaks for itself:-

"Surgeon Nariman of the Bombay Medical Establishment was attached to the Ningyan Column in 1886 and did excellent service at Yemethen in Upper Burma on the occasion of a sharp action at Kinnawa (12 miles S. E. of Yemethen) when Private Burge of the 2nd Battalion Somersetshire, Light Infantry was killed and several men wounded, amongst the latter being Lt. Col. A. B. Fox, 2nd Battalion S. L. I. Surgeon Nariman rendered valuable service in attending promptly to the wounded meriting the approbation of the small force then engaged. Subsequently, Surgeon Nariman accompanied other expeditions against the enemy and was always satisfactorily reported on by officers in command.

Madras,	}	(sd.) W. F. DICKEN, COLONE,
28th Novr. 1887.		COMMAND 3rd MADRAS L. I.
		LATE IN COMMANDANT OF NINGYAN
		FIELD FORCE, UPPER BURMA.

Gushtasp was born in August 1873, and joined later on, the Elphinstone College of Bombay, where he had a brief educational career. He was then appointed Translator in the Chief Court of Rangoon. As

Translator, he had an onerous duty to discharge, but still he found time enough for literary pursuits which gradually brought him out as a man devoted to deep scholarly research. Here, as a Linguist, he studied Pali, one of the hardest languages among the Oriental people, and also Arabic and Sanskrit. This study initiated him to some of the most unknown and scholarly productions, which had remained a sealed book to the general mass of literary people. He interested himself not only in their study then, but also brought forth learned commentaries on them. Thus his versatile genius led him to produce, perhaps, his most famous and scholarly book called "*The Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism.*" This opened the eyes of the world to the existence of a deep scholar, and letters of appreciation, began to pour on him from all corners of the Earth. I shall quote here only a few out of the many, that are now lying in a heap in the sequestered Library of this eminent and departed genius.

On behalf of His Majesty the King of Siam, his private Secretary writes as follows:-

"The King, my Sovereign, on learning of the contents of your letter, had been graciously pleased to command me to forward you a small contribution of Rs. 50 towards your fund By command of His Majesty the King, my August Sovereign, I beg to convey to you the expression

of his thanks for a copy of the LITERARY HISTORY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHISM, which you have been good enough to present him, and which he accepts with pleasure."

The Mahendra Maharaja of Panna writes:-

"I am always interested in such books and I look forward to the pleasure of reading it at my leisure."

The Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University writes:-

"Dr. Moonjee has handed over to me your HISTORY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHISM, which you have kindly presented to our University. Before replying, I wanted to have some idea of the book. It is a monumental work and opens up a new and hitherto unknown chapter in our ancient Sanskrit literature. I am afraid, however, it will be imposing a most exacting and difficult task on our students if we are to make it a text book in the B. A. It may, perhaps, be recommended for study by advanced students who go up for the M. A. in Sanskrit. With this end in view, I shall place the book before the Board of Studies (Sanskrit.)"

Dr. Narendranath Law writes:-

I thank you very much for your kind present of a copy of your LITERARY HISTORY OF SANSKRIT

BUDDHISM. I had occasions to consult this book sometime ago and was struck by the labour that you have expended to make the information contained in the book easily accessible to the Indian scholars through your translation. It is really a very useful book, and I would like "to see more of such books from your pen.

From Rangoon to Bombay

Nariman left Rangoon for good in or about 1914, when he was appointed Censor in Bombay, during the great days of the War. At one time, he was in direct connection with the Director of Archaeological Researches, Sir John Marshall as Assistant to him, who greatly appreciated his scholarly talents. Being a thorough master of Persian and Arabic, he was selected by Lord Rawlinson, the Commander-in-Chief of India, to visit the North-West Frontier Provinces, in order to enquire into the state of affairs in that Province, which was, at that time, greatly perturbed, due to the internal discontent and tribal warfare. Though physically not a very strong man, Nariman ventured to go there and submitted a full report to the Government of India, wherein he had, in good faith, also to criticise briefly the Military policy of the Government. It might be mentioned here, that though a staunch loyalist, he never failed to submit to Government his own independent views, if it was necessary to do so in the interests of his country. He

never stooped to any internal connections, if it was so demanded that he should make a brave resistance for the good of the Government. His criticism was not disliked, and in later years, G. K. N. strongly drove home to the Government of India, the fact that unless there was peace in the borderland, especially on the Baluchistan and the Afghan borders, through Government adopting a permanent policy of conciliation, it would not be possible to lighten India's burden of heavy Military expenditure, under which she was continually groaning. Events, since Nariman's writings, have proved the expediency of his foresighted policy and the Government are now unsparingly making efforts to establish on the Frontier such peace regulations with the foreign powers, as to enable them to keep the country safe on one hand, and on the other, to reduce as much of the Military expenditure, as would satisfy the complaints of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

The Mopla Riots :—During the War-time, various movements, both Hindu and Muslim, political and economic, caught people's imagination and the the Government was in a most perturbed position. There were but few men, who could venture to rush into the midst of those disturbances, and pronounce an honest opinion, and fewer still, who could suggest means and measures to remedy the same. Nariman was one

such. Mopla riots with their fury were unprecedented in the history of Southern India. That unhappy chapter need not be repeated here. But the Government were compelled in the days of Lord Chelmsford, to appoint an Enquiry committee, for the purpose of investigating the causes of these serious Riots. Nariman was appointed on that Commission, and his searching enquiry, which was largely helped by his proficiency and knowledge, both of the customs and manners of the people, and also of the language or languages, prevailing in these different parts, proved eminently successful. His observations were as deep and profound as his suggestions were impartial and dispassionate. His report submitted to the Government of India largely brought forth encomiums, from all departments of the Government. Lord Willingdon, who was, at that time, Governor of Madras, also appreciated his valuable endeavour. At that time, Nariman was a magnificent figure in Indian Politics, but being of a retired and quiet temperament, he never showed himself forth, like so many politicians in these tub-thumping days. He kept on to his helm and did persistent constructive work in an effort to solve the various knotty Indian political problems.

A Masterly Pen:—He wielded a masterly pen. And what great orators on the public stage and statesmen on the floors of the legislatures could not achieve

by their tongue, Nariman did in a quiet corner of his secluded Library, from where, every day used to flow out a number of valuable contributions to different papers, not only of India but of other countries as well. His contributions were greatly relished and accepted by papers, far and near. There might not be a single leading journal, worth the name in India, which might not have tasted of Nariman's scholarship. There might be very few, even the far distant land of England, to which Nariman might not have contributed on subjects, mostly religious, literary or linguistic. If it was found necessary by the social and economic conditions of the time that he should make some pronouncement on them, he never failed to do so; and in so doing, he proved that he had laid his finger right on the spot and suggested such remedies for the prevailing grievances and complaints, as startled some of the leading thinkers of the day. His one great hope was to interest the Parsi community in a large measure, in subjects political and economic, pertaining to this country, in which he succeeded, to a large extent, for during the palmy days of Gandhiji's movement, when the latter took charge of the Congress in the year 1919, if the Parsis played their own humble part in the national affairs of the country, it was not a little due to the continued agitation that men like G. K. N. made, both on the platform and in the press. Though not a great speaker, Nariman never failed to answer

the call of the Parsis whenever they wanted him to address them on subjects pertaining to their own welfare and well-being. He never failed to suggest to them that they must interest themselves in the welfare of their motherland by bearing the brunt of political battles along with the other communities, but on strictly consistent and cautious lines. I need not enter deeper into this, for I have before me a letter written to him by H. H. The Aga Khan, who greatly appreciated his endeavour in shaping and modulating the ideals and practices of the Indian Nation as a whole, along right political lines.

Says H. H. the Aga Khan as follows:-

“To talk with a man of your learning is a joy such as one gets rarely in this country... ..”

Iranian influence on Islam:-One of the most important services that the literary output of G. K. N. rendered to both the Moslems and other sister communities, was that Nariman excavated some of the hidden treasures of Islamic literature, and after the days of Yezdegard, the last of the Sassanian Monarchs, upto the days of the Kajars, in which he found there was Iranian influence on the shaping of modern Islamic literature. Often times, it used to be believed that the Muslims were a race of tyrants,

oppressors, murderers and blood-thirsty cut-throats and it became a literary fashion among the Parsis especially, to portray the Muslim community as perhaps, the most intolerant in matters religious. But Nariman after deeply studying various Arabic books of the above period, came to the conclusion, that that notion was unfounded, and that that idea was exploited only to denounce Islam, which had brought about the political down-fall of the Sassanian Kingdom in Persia. Nariman came across a great Russian work, (it might be mentioned here in passing that he knew among many other Occidental languages, Russian too) which was written by the well-known scholar, M. Inostranzev. This translation bespoke not only of his mastery over the language, but also proved the theory, which he himself had conceived, that the medioeval Islamic literature was influenced by Iranian thought and Iranian culture, and that the Musalmans, with rare exceptions, had no hand in extirpating the Parsis from Persia. Nariman also translated a German book called " Geschichte der Religion ", by C. P. Tiele, which was a further proof of his knowledge of Western languages. Among the first to appreciate and recognise the worth and value of this eminent scholar, were the French authorities, who proposed to confer on him the honorary degree of Doctorate some years ago, which Nariman was too modest to accept. Amongst the numerous French scholars, Prof. Sylvian Levi,

perhaps the foremost during his time in Europe, was in constant correspondence with G. K. N. When he visited India, he was his guest in Bombay. Sylvian Levi held a high opinion about his scholarship, and suggested that if there was any one who could undertake to do the work of investigation, both religious and historical, in such distant places as Tibet, Northern Punjab and others, it was Nariman. As a scholar of Buddhism, he was greatly respected by learned men, scholars of Sanskrit and Pali, and such other religious languages, on which he was an authority. He took a leading part in the formation of the well-known Buddha Society in Bombay. As a student of Buddhism, he was also closely connected with the leaders of Jain religion throughout India, and the Principal leader of Jainism in Bombay, named Jainacharya Shri Vijaya Dharma Suri, was so interested in Nariman's scholarship that he offered him to write works on Jainism, which would prove authoritative documents on that deep and scientific religion of humanitarianism.

Against Bigotry:—Nariman had great hatred of religious bigotry. At one place he chastises the preistcraft in the following terms:—

One of the causes of the downfall of the Zoroastrian monarchy of the Sassanians was the bigotry

of the Mobeds, They had made the Zoroastrian religion impossible to practise. The ceremonies had exceeded all reasonable bounds. If we look at the prayers alone we are amazed at their varieties, and if they were all compulsory, life would be a burden.

There were not only the numerous prayers, but there were also numerous confessions of sins. We can understand prayer before eating or saying the grace and we can even tolerate the five prayers dedicated to the five gahs from which the Musalmans have borrowed their five nimaz. We can understand also the prayer at marriage. But what shall we say about prayers before and after the calls of nature, prayer against and after the seminal pollution? We can understand prayer when the lamps are lighted, prayer when you see the dakhma, but then there are prayers when you see a mountain, prayer when your sight falls on water, prayer when you see trees, small prayers after big prayers like this alter the Hormuzd and the Sarosh Yezd. What shall we say about the prayer to God before cohesion?

People talk about the pure Zoroastrian religion which is against the devils. But we have to consider whether devil worship is not incorporated in our own holy books. There is prayer for driving away devil. We practise exorcism. One of the most amazing

prayers is by a man who thanked God for he was not created a woman. This knocks the bottom out of the claim that women were treated as an equal of man in pre-Islamic Iran.

We can understand the confessions of sins when a man has actually committed them. But how to account for the long list of sins which a man is not likely to have committed and especially confessions of sins which a child could never have been guilty of? And this is the confession which a poor child recites when he or she is invested with sudra and kusti. The 19th Karda of the Patet says:-

“Oh pride, haughtiness, covetousness, slandering the dead, anger, envy, the evil eye, shamelessness, looking at with evil intent, looking at with evil concupiscence, stiff-neckedness, discontent with the godly arrangements, self-willedness, sloth, despising others, mixing in strange matters, unbelief, opposing the Divine powers, false wishes, false judgment, idol-worship, running without Kusti, running naked, running with one shoe, the breaking of the law (midday) prayer, the omission of the (midday) prayer, theft, robbery, whoredom, witch-craft, worshipping with sorcerers, unchastity, unchastity with boys, allowing unchastity with myself, tearing the hair, as well as all other kinds of sin which are enumerated in this Patet, or not enumerated, wick I am aware of, or not aware of, which

are appointed or not appointed, which I should have bewailed with obedience before the Lord and the Dastur of the law, and have not bewailed,—of these sins I repent with thoughts, words, and words corporeal as spiritual, earthly as heavenly. O Lord, pardon, I repent with the three words, with Patet."

Parsis and Early Islam:—As noted above, Nariman held independent views about the treatment meted out to Parsis, by the early Moslem monarchs. The following contribution, that he made to the press, with regard to the above subject, is a thoughtful production, even today, which will indicate not only the depth of his scholarship, but the unchallengeable truth of his statement. The article is rather a very long one, and therefore, I shall content myself with taking only the following extracts, which are as follows:—

"But to commemorate an occurrence of a momentous character such as the prime arrival of the Parsis in India is one thing and to allege motives for the exile of the Parsis from their home in Persia is quite different. It may at once be set out that till within a few years ago, owing unfortunately to the subsequent behaviour of certain Moslem potentates towards non-Moslems, it was generally believed even among scholars in the West that the migration of the Parsis to India

was owing to no other cause than Islamic religious bigotry. This legend-little more it is as will be abundantly shown in the sequel-was more than sixty years ago attacked and exploded first, so far as I know, by Spiegel who still occupies a position of respected authority on Zoroastrian antiquity. Subsequently, there have been a series of writers, among them the most prominent being Chwolsen and Wiel, the great annalist of the Khalifs, and in modern times the distinguished English scholar Arnold, the Dutch author Von Vloten, Prof. Brown of Cambridge, and others who have investigated the Arabic and Syriac sources of Parsi history and have left no room for scepticism touching the undoubted fact that the conversion of the Zoroastrians of Persia to Islam was by no means enforced at the point of the sword. The question then immediately arises what made the Parsis abandon their home in Persia and take up their domicile in India? It is not the object of this examination to explain and account for the existence of the Parsis in India. All that is aimed at is to establish beyond all further controversy that whatever originally led the Parsis to abandon Persia for good it was not a fierce religious persecution. At the very most, if there was a political domination in Persia of a race professing an alien faith the treatment accorded to the Parsis was, it has to be admitted, not the same as that which was

extended to the believers in the Koran. But then again, it is one thing to grant that the conduct of the conquering Arabs towards the subject Zoroastrian Persians was not the same as that towards Moslems and *toto caelo* different to allege that the disparity of the usage amounted to positive persecution, so much so that the objects of the Moslem fanaticism saw no course open to them, but the alternative of a cruel emigration in a body to a foreign country leaving behind all that was precious to them including their most sacred fire altars and carrying into exile but a portion of the holy emblem revered for ages untold.

One more word of preface. It was originally designed to place this exposition solely before the Parsi community through a periodical devoted more or less exclusively to special communal interests. But it became soon manifest that the enquiry concerns a much wider circle than the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, bearing as it does on the important period coinciding with nascent Islam in that phase of its early development which was connected with its foreign policy as a world power in embryo. In investigating the problem in a journal which is not inaccessible to cultured Moslems throughout India, it may be feasible to secure the collaboration of the learned of the latter community in historical research into

the past of the Parsis towards whose mistaken notions of the early spirit of Islam and the treatment of non-Muhammedan subjects by Moslem rulers they have exhibited so far only amused apathy except as in the case of the lamented Maulvi Shibli whose irresistible concatenation of historical evidences were directed less pointedly against the fallacies cherished by the Parsis than the general trend of view of the uninformed Occident on Islamic ideals."

Services to the Parsi Community:- A true Zoroastrian, he never swerved from his noble and high ideal of service to his community. No Parsi literary writer, or scholar of humble merit, who resorted to his door, for the purpose of seeking intellectual, or even pecuniary assistance, returned either empty in mind, or empty in hand. G. K. N. assisted him, as best as he could. Though not in prosperous circumstances himself, he did his best to see that members of his community, who came in contact with him, and who sought his assistance, never returned disappointed. He had under him Parsi scholars of repute, whom he guided, whom he made to write and if they served the interests of the community according to the lines indicated by him, he never failed to assist them as best as he could. He believed in the Parsis pooling their economic resources, and not

only utilising them for their own uplift here in India, but also for utilising them towards the exploration of the hidden wealth in Persia itself. Nariman deeply believed in bringing about a happy affinity between the economic and political relations of the Indian Parsis, with the Iranian communities in Persia. He thought, and he thought correctly, that if the Parsis broadened their vision and interested themselves in excavating the mineral wealth of Persia, the Parsis in India had sufficient talents and financial resources to enable them to explore those regions, not only to the interests of the community as a whole, but also to the advancement and prosperity of Persia herself. His pre-vision, for he adumbrated this idea first among the Parsi community, was in the beginning not much relished; but Nariman had got the tenacious capability of holding to his own convictions, and so he went on consistently propagating these views among the Parsis, and at last found, to his great joy, that the community as a whole had begun to appreciate his invaluable lead. Then was formed a regular committee in Bombay, consisting of leading Parsis, who began not only to explore ways and means of establishing avenues of economic contact between India and Persia, but also desired to institute a society called the "Iran League", through which to effect regular contact with Iranian culture, to rouse sympathy in the

hearts of the Parsis for all things Iranian. Today, when a Parsi goes about in the streets of Bombay, he finds in different schools, Persian classes opened up, to enable the Parsis to learn the language efficiently. He will also find that in Parsi societies and associations, a large number of books are given away as prizes to the rising generations, inviting them to interest themselves in Persian problems, pertaining to the modern Iranian socio-economic subjects. He will also find that joint-stock companies are started with a view to open up economic relations between the Parsis in India and the Persians, under the suzerain protection of the great prince, Reza Shah Pehlavi. One also will notice that going to Persia, visiting places of historical interest, living in Persia, and also founding schools and propagating culture among the Persian young people, through the agency of the Parsis in India have been common. All this was first suggested by this thoughtful scholar, who sat in a corner of his own Library and reflected valuable thoughts. With a masterly pen that he wielded in the interests of his community and the masses generally, he roused the dormant fire of true aspiration and true ambition and true enterprise among them and the Parsis.

In the contribution that he made, just prior to his death, in the "People" of Lahore, Nariman

zealously gave the following message of Iran to the Parsis, in the following terms:-

"Ye Persians, scattered about in various parts of the world, Ye Parsis of India, Persia, called on you, invites you and urges you to avail yourselves of the opportunity, come back to Iran, give a helping hand to the prosperity of your fatherland, extract its minerals, carry out to completion the digging of its oil wells, make profit for yourselves and extend the area and enhance the prestige of your fatherland, help the Persians of Persia. from one unique Iranian fold, face the struggle of events in the world, and advance.

Today all the nations try to increase their population. If the labourers increase, any piece of work is sooner completed. Today Persia possesses all the facilities for labour, raw material and sources of Wealth. Persia today commands safety, power, codified laws and has acquired the spirit of progress and activity. If You Parsis of India and the Persians together avail yourselves of the opportunity, we will restore Iran to her ancient grandeur and might and make her the supreme land of the world.

"In this connection, it gives me very great pleasure to produce a portion of the letter I have received from Prof. Arthur Upham Pope, the great American Archaeologist, who has been

encouraged by H. I. M. Reza Shah, the enlightened patron of fine arts, to make researches in Iran, the reserves of which have so far exceeded expectations. It is noteworthy that the same national endeavour is put forth in bringing to light the buried past of the Sasanians belonging to Zoroastrianism as the later monuments of the Islamic period."

But his services to the Parsi community will be more remembered by the community as a whole, by his actively and courageously defending the integrity of the Parsi religion at a crucial time when Nariman thought it right to take up cudgels on behalf of true Zoroastrian tenets. While in Rangoon, a certain event happened, which suddenly roused the Parsi community over the now famous episode, known as the Bella case. It was a case of the Zoroastrian religion, and some of the old traditional customs, on which stood the fabric of the whole Parsi community as such, being in imminent peril. Though himself a reformer, Nariman never swerved from certain orthodox principles, that underlie the features of modern Zoroastrianism. He was not a fanatic, but if he found that from a scholarly standpoint, and it will be said here that he always took a highly intellectual view of Zoroastrianism, the very constitution of the Parsi community, as a whole, was in a precarious position, he would immediately [come out in defence of Zoroastrianism.

The Bella case was brought to the notice of the Zoroastrian world, largely by the versatile pen of Nariman, while he was in Rangoon. His inexhaustible writings, on the great issue roused the Parsi community in India, and Nariman figures as a centre, round which all the threads of communal interest in the Rangoon case were woven. Not only did he report the events thoroughly, but he also made such sound and profound reflections, as led the community, for the first time, to know that there was a true Zoroastrian in Rangoon among them, who was single-handed and bravely defending Zoroastrianism against heavy odds. Leading Parsis, such as the Editors of the two foremost Parsi journals, together with some of the noted philanthropists, went to Rangoon, and it was with the assistance of Nariman that they could plough through the whole of the famous Bella case. The main reason why this item is brought out here is to show that Nariman threw scholarly and theological reflections on the whole issue, which but very few scholars in these days could do. The following published in 1925 would indicate Nariman's point of view on the issue:—

“A stray expression or two in the Privy Council judgment has upset certain people. They seem to have a misgiving about the triumph of the Parsi Conservatives being not complete. Naturally their wish is father to this feeble

thought. The expression we refer to suggests that the appellants have largely failed. We can establish that the antiproselytes have won the case in its entirety. We have only to bring the mind back to the conditions prevailing before the suit was launched to appreciate its irresistible success. It is common ground that Zoroastrianism enjoins conversion. But it is not common ground how exactly far the injunctions of the Avesta must be enforced in every age and every clime. It is obvious to the commonest reasoning faculty combined with a minimum knowledge of existing religions that the man who insisted upon putting into practice all the ordinances of the Vandidad to-day would land himself in gaol equally with the enthusiast who adhered to the letter of the Quranic verses of the edicts of Manu. The Quranic penal code is rightly held antiquated. The religious Brahman who seeks to have cut out the tongue of the Veda reciting Shudra would have his liberty of action incontinently curtailed. When it is a question of choice between omitting a precept of two of a given religious creed and jeopardising the existence of the community which professes it, the answer is perfectly oblivious, provided selfish motives and personal passions do not befog the mind.

Bella was born of a Parsi mother and admittedly to a non-Parsi father. A child of a

Parsi father and a non-Parsi mother might conceivably have been initiated into the Zoroastrian religion and smuggled into the holy edifices. Such instances, that is to say, of issues begotten on alien females by Parsi fathers were not rare. The smuggling was an evil and threatened to assume disastrous proportions, the smuggled being ordinarily of an inferior stock in mental calibre and moral fibre. Hence the orthodox protest. In Bella's case the evil was aggravated. The father whose religion does most matter was not a Zoroastrian. To prevent the evil it was resolved that miscellaneous unions were undesirable and the progeny unacceptable to the Zoroastrian fold. This position, we submit, has been upheld by the Privy Council. Supposing a person wanted to live a Zoroastrian life, what should prevent its being done? Perhaps even the Parsi society would have admitted such an individual who did not aggressively, seek admittance to shrines and did not hurl theatrical defiance at the susceptibilities of the masses. What the majority set their faces against was the commingling of a cross-breed at religious gatherings connected with Parsi ritual and ceremonial. To this ritual and ceremony men of University training and western culture cling with a tenacity which is amazing. It has amazed 'non-Parsis and furnished them with evidence of the bona fides of the orthodox protes-

tants. Thus the majority denied to the surreptitious converts the benefits of Zoroastrian sacrament, ceremonies, last burial place and charities. And has not this refusal been finally endorsed by the imprimatur of the highest tribunal of the British Empire? Who wanted more than this and what that extra demand represented, we fail to imagine.

Religious polemics are the most futile of controversies. Religious passions have done harm to mankind. The little good that they may have secured to our suffering race is incalculably outweighed by the misery they have brought in their train. Hence our extreme reluctance to take up cudgels on behalf of our religion and its tenets against some foolish comment by certain Christian organs on the Bella case. "Having imbibed the Parsi culture", says the "Indian Messenger." Bella claimed the right of worshipping in the Zoroastrian temple. But Zarathushtra would not own her as his own. This is how the Zoroastrian laws stand even to-day. It shows that Zoroastrianism has not yet stripped itself of its ethnic swaddling clothes." We would ask these amiable writers of such stuff to put themselves in the shoes of the Parsis. To how many of the direct commandments of Lord Jesus have not they given the go-by in this hard world of ours, where faith, hope and charity fail to propel the wheels

of ordinary existence? The Christian propagandist has struck us on our left cheek. We will not offer him our right for another similar Christian caress because our religion enjoins no such crippling handicap on man's existence. Nor would we suggest that Christ spurns those who seek refuge in him because those unfortunate ones are not always in a position to part with their coat to those who rob them of their cloak, that is, if they possess the luxury of both."

In return for Nariman's services, a silver shield was presented to him, which his family have still preserved, bearing the following inscription which eulogises his services to the community (dated 16th November 1914);—

"This shield is presented to G. K. Nariman, Esq., as a token of the high appreciation of his invaluable services rendered, and the great personal sacrifices made, in the defence of the Parsi communal interests, during the Juddin controversy of 1914, by the Parsi co-religionists of Rangoon, opposed to the admission of aliens into their fold."

A False Tradition.

Nariman had revealed to the world that Islam was not totally antagonistic to Zoroastrianism. Writing at one place he says:—

"We had a glorious empire which supported the most spiritual of religions and we defied the Byzantine Empire, when we were overwhelmed by the savages of the Arabian desert, who overturned our sovereignty and forcibly implanted into Iran a new religion suppressing at the point of the sword the whole faith of Zoroaster so that no vestiges of the latter remained in the homeland. Our literature was burnt or torn. All our famous shrines profaned and turned into mosques. Our religious edifices were snatched from their hereditary custodians for the profit of Islam; the fires of all our temples ruthlessly extinguished and every vestige of our civilisation and mental superiority condemned to thoughtless oblivion. This compelled our forefathers about a thousand years ago for the sake of religion to quit the mother-country and set sail for the preservation of religion for a distant dismal unknown land scarcely less hostile to our religion and we landed at last in western India where we have since settled." This is the traditional belief in which thousands of Parsis are born, live useful lives, casting a wistful glance at their ravished homes in Iran and dying in the belief of their ruin brought about by the injunctions of Islam and the instrumentality of the first protagonists of the faith. To soothe national feelings they have invested with the glamour of history the semi-legendary Hindu King

of whom nothing is known outside their cherished tradition and they have invented an impossible Hindu name for the ruler of a shifting locality somewhere in the western coast of India. No account is taken here of the intolerance of the Parsi rulers, the schisms of the Parsi priesthood, the venality and the lost sense of patriotism of the provincial governors, the lust for luxury and the lure of ease which preferred comfortable existence to dangerous antagonism. It seems to be tacitly assumed that there were no traitors in the camp. The same internal dissensions which rend the community wherever it is settled in any part of India, Persia or Burma seems to have possessed the soul of the early Zoroastrians who were verily deprived of reason when the gods purposed to bring about their ruin. More than twenty provincial governors entered into treaties with the invading Arabs and purchased a continuation of the lease of life of luxury and authority and the power continued in the hands of their descendants ages after the Parsis are believed to have been thrown out of Iran and thrust into Hindustan. The writers of the tradition of persecution have, it seems permissible to assume, transferred back to the early days the memories of much later real persecution for which neither Islam nor the Arabs were responsible and when sheer lust of power caused the country to be

drenched in blood. Unless we place ourselves in the hands of an early authentic guide and tour the country as it passed peacefully and almost bloodlessly from Zoroastrianism to Islam, unless we have the patience to bear with the testimony of writers who still speak with admiration of Iranian cultural supremacy we shall continue to hug the comfortable but erroneous belief of a religious persecution. . . ."

He writes at another place as follows;—

Parsis and Early Islam

"....There is need for an exhaustive survey of the Arabic and Persian authors to be convinced of the largely voluntary percentage of proselytism to Islam. The instances usually cited however of early and sometimes grateful converts are hard to account for by the theory of persecution. At the end of the eighth century a prince of Nalkh named Saman having received substantial help from a Moslem general renounced Zoroastrianism, named his son Asad after his benefactor and became the founder of the Samanide dynasty of Persia, which held sway from 874 to 999. Similarly the first ruler of the house of Kans, called Qubusiya in our sources and whose father's name was Shahriyar adopted Islam in the beginning of the 9th century. A large number of Zoroastrians owned the influence in

Daylam of Nasir-al-Haq and went over to Islam in the year 873. In the year 301 of the Hijira (912 A. D.) Hasan ibn Ali "lived many years in Daylam, which like Gilan was inhabited by an infidel population, part Zoroastrian and part heathen, he called them to acknowledge the true God and succeeded in converting them to Islam", and again "the inhabitants of the country were steeped in ignorance; some of them were Magians, Hasan invited them to Islam and they agreed except a small number occupying the hills, and their fortresses, valleys and inaccessible spots. They have persisted to this day in their polytheism." There was some resentment displayed, as we notice the Masudi, at the persistence of the people in their unbelief, but down to the Mongal inroads in the 13th century most parts of Persia were strangers to coercion."

The Powers of Nature and old Aryan Gods.

A deep student of Aryan philosophy Nariman writes in a scholarly article as follows:—

"Among the nature gods who were venerated with still greater enthusiasm by the Zarathushtrians Vayu occupied an eminent place. He is named in the Gathas themselves, although we fail to discover any trace of a particular worship of his in these ancient times. But he is adopted

among the Yazatas and enthusiastically glorified. The 15th Yasht, though it also bears another title—about which later on—was in entirety dedicated to him. And there essentially he is nothing more than the old nature god. Originally identical with the Vedic Vayu, the constant companion in fight of Indra the God of heavens fighting against the powers of darkness and drought in the clouds, he is equally in Iran in reality the god of that which we collectively call atmosphere, for the Parsi the land which lay between the heavenly sphere of Ahura Mazda and the inferno of Anghra Mainyu and which was the scene of the contest of both. We may at once call him god of the winds but we must take into consideration that wind-gods in mythology—let us think of Hermes, Mars, Rudra and the Maruts—have influence also upon the manifestations of light in the heavens that is as the gatherers of clouds they obscure the light of heaven and when they reinstate the light in its brilliance they are called the scatterers of the clouds. This dual power and double nature of the god have not remained unknown to the Iranians and clearly displayed in the Yasht which glorifies him.

Now how to make from this nature god, an actual Daeva, a Zarathushtrian Yazata? Ethical points, such as were evident in case of Mithra

there were none in this mythical figure. Moreover, people had to surmount the difficulty that the region of Vayu was not pure, in as much as it belonged as much to Ahura Mazda as to Anghra Mainyu, and accordingly the god himself was to a certain extent an auxiliary of the latter. The 15th Yasht teaches us how this difficulty was got over. This song consists of two for the most part heterogeneous components, the second is the oldest in idea at least if not also in composition. Here Vayu is really the old nature god. This is proved by the enumeration of his names. His principal name Vayu is explained by means of that false etymology so dear to the heart of antiquity which makes him one who flies or goes across both the creations, the good and the evil, and because he reaches and touches the two, he is given the appellation of Apayate and the name of Vano-vispao because he is concerned with both. Thus he is here reckoned equally among both the mutually antagonistic spheres of creation. Fortunately for the poet, he found in the name Vohvarshte, the good dear, a means for the suggestion that Vayu was the doer of good for the sake of Ahura Mazda, the creator of Amesha Spentas. But then nearly all the other names again had references to the mythological personifications of the effects of the wind such as he that throws to the ground, he that blows out

the flame, he who is or sways a sharp lance or a number of lances, he who compels and hurls down, he who is the most rapid of the rapid, the strongest of the strong, and even when he is called Vidhaevo-kare, that is, he who works against the demons, he need not necessarily be Zarathushtrian, nor even when he is brought into connection with the Khvarena. All these names have a mythical potency. Vayu assures Zarathushtra that he shall not call upon him in vain in the midst of fearful armies, battles arrayed fighting nations or in outrages or imprisonment. The Zarathushtrian author is not slow to mention the unfaithful Ashemaogha and is certain that Vayu puts to confusion horses, men and Daevas and has the power to hurl down the powerful to the nethermost region, the thousand-fold gloom. Then again the god stands before us in a pure mythical form as a hero high cultured and high-footed, broad in chest and hips, with piercing eyes and the Yasht concludes with invocations in which the deity is described especially as an existence of light with a golden helmet, crown and neck-chain seated in a coach of gold with golden wheels, golden clothes, shoes and girdle."

Prof. Dr. Hermann Lemmel, in a letter dated 20th August 1926, to Nariman admires his talents as follows :—

"It has long been recognized that our tradition of Avesta goes back only as far as Sassanian times. It was also supposed that before this period the Avesta was written in a more archaic and simpler script; there was, however, no clear idea of the appearance of this script. Andreas has explained the origin and growth of the Avesta script. He has made this clear by his investigations of the different Iranian scripts; those of the Sasanian inscriptions, coins and papyri, the Pahlavi and Avesta manuscripts. Thus he has been able to draw conclusions as to the pre-Sasanian Avesta. There must be a sharp distinction between the form of the letters (Palaeography) and the spelling of the words. The form of the letters must have been an older type of Pahlavi cursive, approximately between the uncial inscriptions of the Sasanian times and the cursive of the Pahlavi books. The vowels and diphthongs have in some cases no symbols, in other cases they are represented by symbols that do not accurately correspond to their sound, i. e. the so-called "matres lactionis" aleph, cod, waw. There were also different consonant sounds represented by the same consonant symbols, for instance $p = p \text{ \& } f$, $t = t \text{ \& } th$. The present Avesta with its wealth of vowel and diphthong—symbols and its differentiations of consonant symbols must then have been transcribed in Sasanian times from that older script

into the Avesta script. I am of the opinion that the creation of the Avesta script and the transcriptions of the old texts into this script was an important intellectual and scientific achievement; for this credit must be given to the learned men of that period. However, we must not be too dependent upon the interpretation of these scholars, but we must go back to the text as it was before the transcription. This text, still uninfluenced by the linguistic opinions and interpretations of the transcribers, is the only genuine tradition, and in many cases mistakes made by the transcribers can be definitely proved.

“The task of drawing conclusions about this earlier Avesta and reconstructing it from the Sasanian form is very difficult. Compound letters were used as differentiating symbols for vowels and diphthongs and also certain consonant sounds, some of which can be easily resolved into their component parts, but it is not always clear whether both parts of the compound were already in the original text or only one. For instance, it is very clear that Avesta “w” is a letter compounded from v plus p, but it is in many cases difficult to say whether originally v plus p or only v or only p was used. The investigation of such problems is still incomplete, and some German scholars have thrown doubt upon the

opinions of Andreas. In general, I strongly uphold his conclusions, especially as, in several instances, I have proved their truth by my own specialised investigations.

"In dealing with a text reconstructed according to the method of Andreas, we must read and interpret it according to our knowledge of the old Iranian language, thus the problem is similar to that presented by the phonetic reading of a Pahlavi text.

"The metre is also a great help. Even the earlier generation of Avesta scholars recognised a metrical form in some passage of the later Avesta. And the Parsis are certainly not ignorant of these investigations. In Geldner's edition of the Avesta, the metrical parts (as far as he recognised them) are printed differently. Geldner had also published his investigations of the metrical problem in a paper "Uber die Metric des jungeron Avesta" Tubingen 1877, which may be considered as an important beginning of the metrical investigation. But it is only by going back to the pre-transcribed version that we can hope to recognise and reconstruct the metre. For the reconstruction of the metre demands certain changes in the traditional text. Before the time of Andreas, if scholars departed from the traditional text, they had no sure ground beneath their feet, for they had no ideas of a pre-transcribed

text and had lost the support of the Sasanian text, as I have explained in my paper, *Zeitschrift f. Indol & Iran*. I (see especially p. 186 and following). Whereas, according to Andreas, we have now the groundwork of the pre-Sasanian text. For many years the 8-syllabic verses of the later Avesta have been generally recognised, but many lines cannot be contracted into 8 syllables. I have now found 10 to 12 syllabic verses mingled with the 8-syllabic verses, and in this way new paras of metrical investigations have been opened up. For instance, such an arrangement as follows can be found in a text with chiefly 8 syllabic lines, 8 plus 8 plus 8 plus 10 plus 8 plus 10 plus 8 plus 8. In such cases, I am of the opinion that the 10 syllabic lines are not to be rejected as corrupt, but to be recognised as original 10 syllabic verses.

A year ago I wrote a paper on the 10 syllabic verses, which is not yet published. From it, and from the first part, the so-called "Einleitung" of the printed paper (page 185 & 211) you can gain an impression of what I have contributed to the solution of the metrical problem. The second part of this same paper deals with certain specialised problems, which occur. Later, I intend to publish an article discussing the 12 syllabic verses.

"It is surprising how great a difference is made by the metrical changes which I propose and still more, by the application of the phonetic theories of Andreas. I wish to make it clear that my text is, in many respects, nearer to the traditional text than Geldner's attempt in his *Metrik*, or the early attempts of other scholars.

"I am devoting myself to the investigation of the Avesta texts, dealing with their religious content, as well as with the script and linguistic form. ."

Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan writes in a letter dated 28th February 1925.

"Many thanks for sending me a copy of your new publication the 'Ahad Nameh'. You are doing yeoman service to the cause of Zoroastrian-Muslim unity among Persians by means of such publications. There is a great deal of misunderstanding among our Parsi friends in India regarding religious persecution in Persia. It is important for both sections to learn that whatever excesses the fanatical Mullahs may have indulged in in the past were not justified by the tenets or policy of Islam in Persia.

I am proud to find that we have among us a man of your scholarship and enthusiasm to enlighten us on such an important and interesting subject.

Sir Prabhashanker Pattani in a letter dated 17th March 1920 writes :—

“I took advantage of reading some of the portions of your book indeed. Every page reveals your industry and your intimate knowledge of the subject, and I am sending that book with your letter to the Member in-charge of education.”

Lord Ronaldshay writes in a letter dated 28th July 1923 :—

“I am much obliged by your letter of the 7th instant, and I much appreciate the the compliment which you have paid me in dedicating your book—“Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature” to me. I also have to thank you for your review of my “Lands of the Thunderbolt” in the “Voice of India.”

“The scheme of which you write, for settling educated Parsis in Persia, is an

interesting one, and is, surely, deserving of success. I trust that it may do something towards regenerating that ancient and historic land."

Writing about G. K. N. on the first anniversary of his death the Times of India has a following note about him which is interesting :—

A Great Scholar.

"Yesterday fell the first death anniversary of the late Mr. G. K. Nariman, a great orientalist and journalist, linguist, and the author of "Sanskrit Buddhism" and other monumental works. In this land of leisure, G. K. N. was one of the few Indians who knew the value of Time. His services to India in general and Parsis in particular were great indeed; and I am sure, most of my Parsi readers will not lightly forget the part he played in the cause of Zoroastrianism during the Rangoon Bela Case of 1914. The grateful public of that city presented him with a beautiful silver shield bearing the inscription: "This shield is presented to Gustasp K. Nariman, Esq., as a token of high appreciation of his in-

valuable services rendered and great personal sacrifices made in the defence of Parsi communal interests during the Juddin controversy of 1914, by his Parsee co-religionists of Rangoon, opposed to the admission of aliens into their fold." Like La Bruyere, he believed that it is profound ignorance that inspires the dogmatic spirit, and all his writings bore the imprint of culture and a tolerance all too rare in this country of rigid beliefs and circumscribed loyalties."

Malaviya Commemoration Volume.

G. K. Nariman writes as follows in the Malaviya Commemoration Volume :

Mahamana Pandit Malaviya.

"Nearly thirteen centuries have seen the Parsis in India. For the last hundred years it has been established that the religious systems of the Hindus and the Parsis have created more mutual affinities than any other two creeds, whether in the Aryan or the Semitic group. With every step in deeper literary and philological research we encounter fresh similarity, sometimes amounting to

identity. Not only the structure of their respective sacred tongues, the Vedic Sanskrit and the Avesta, but the priestly ritual and rites of the two races bear differences which betray little distinction. A list of comparative terms of technical sacerdotal usage employed in the Vedic Yajna and the Avesta Yasna, as shown even so cursorily by Hertel, the latest expositor of Avesta, investigating it in his parallel explorations of the Vedas and speaking with a mastery of both the relevant ancient texts, a mastery which presupposes an amount of vast collateral erudition, the divergences even of pronunciation in the sacred spoken word of the Hindu and the Parsi become contracted as we study the grammatical evolution. Only, we Parsis become painfully aware of the ignorance and negligence of our ancestral transcribers of the Avesta manuscripts. While almost a perfect system of syllabary, combined with a hieratic obligation of learning the Vedas by heart, has transmitted this phase sound, the conscience of the Parsi priest-hood and their subsequent attempts at making up for it by fictitious interpolations and additions in barbarous

solecisms have presented a contrast to the Hindu conservative purity, as glaring in the world of holy learning as humiliating in the world of piety.

From time to time Parsi scholars have noted most striking analogies between the articles and the exercise of their faith on the one hand and of the religion of the Hindus on the other. An attempt was made some centuries ago by a learned Dastur to translate the Avesta into a sort of Sanskrit. The later attempts of the Parsis are much more successful, and it is a pleasure to note that there is at last a corresponding movement on the part of Hindu thinkers, especially at Shanti Niketan and Benares, to abridge the distance existing between the tenets of the Hindus and their kinsmen now nationalized and permanently naturalised in India.

Among those Hindus of vision, of penetrating religious outlook and political breadth, I had the pleasure of personal acquaintance with Lala Lajapatrai, Swami Shradhanand and one who is most happily still among us. To the Lalaji of honoured

memory, Parsi was but another name for Hindu. When he held a special meeting of the Hindus in Bombay, my presence was resented by a young Mahratta, but Lalaji, who presided, over-ruled the objection. As to Swami Shraddhanand, the Parsis in Gujarat, at centres like Surat and Navsari besides those of Bombay, will ever cherish the memory of one who had a message of genuine fraternal love for them on behalf of Hindus of generous mentality.

My relations with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have not been equally intimate. They cannot be so with one whose engagements render correspondence impossible. What I know of him, however, has given my friends and myself most ample grounds to be convinced of his spacious religious tolerance. And when I saw the other day the epithet of Mahamana applied to him, the appellative indicative of a personage of elevated spirit, I thought that a more appropriate designation would be hard to devise. One of my happiest days was passed in Benares where Pandit Malaviya had invited me some years ago to the

Assembly of Pandits freely to exchange views, the medium of expression being Sanskrit. It was here, in passing, that one could see how Sanskrit is still a living idiom among the cultured Hindus and not necessarily among those of a reactionary school. And here he allowed me to express my then heretic beliefs and my suggestion that Hindus should go abroad and mix with non-Hindus, just as their ancestors had done, braving the hardships of journey and voyages to the Near and Far East and farther away. And he supported me.

When I was connected with certain Bombay institutions maintained partly by Hindu contributions, designed especially to promote learning, I had suggested a translation of the Zoroastrian Gathas or hymns into Sanskrit, keeping to the original which is common to both the Hindu and Iranian civilisation. The project would have matured with collaboration of seniors like Prof. A. B. Dhruva and others but for the ignorant impatience of some of the wealthy Parsis, on the one hand, and the unscru-

pulousness of some South Indian Hindus on the other. While my scheme was being very favourably considered, a Shams-ul-Ulema, innocent of Sanscrit, was so fascinated by the promises of a South Indian who proposed to bring forward hidden treasures of Parsi learning in Sanscrit, that despite my protests the amount which would have gone towards the translation of the Gathas into Sanscrit went into the pockets of research are still in search of. And it is not the first time that the Parsis have thus been in that is, however, a different story. For the repeated deception is rather due to the vanity of some of their "scholars" ignorant of Hindu lore than to non-Parsi cupidity. Learned penury will prey on vainglorious superfluity.

Pandit Malaviya has evinced no antipathy to non-Brahmanic scriptures. He has positively invited not only discussion but an honest following of their precepts at his own temple of learning at Benares. I know from personal experience that the Parsis and others who study in the Benares University are enjoined, first to say their prayers and,

secondly, to say their prayers in strict accordance with the dictates of the faith in which they are born. I do not know how and where religious broad-mindedness can go further.

I think that those who regard Pandit Malaviya as in any way inimical to non-Hindu cultures in India have shown less than the necessary amount of patience to study the Pandit's most enviable activities and intentions. He has sought the brotherly co-operation of Moslems and reiterated his resolve to attempt to make them appreciate that he is anxious to understand a public question as the Moslems would understand it. How a Hindu of this intense orthodox environments and up-bringing, predisposition and education, could reconcile himself to cow-slaughter may appear amazing to many. And yet this seeming miracle was performed by the Pandit by the concessions which he was prepared to make to the Moslems for no commercial quid pro quo but for a brotherly concord as children of the same soil which he himself adores as heavenly. This man of ingrained predilections and

hereditary instincts, bred in his bones for generations untold,—that this man a Brahmin of Brahmins, should agree to embrace as confrere a member of the Depressed Class appears another marvel to those who have a notion of the depth of the prevailing Hindu feeling on the question. From my personal experience I can realise the agonising wrench it must give to my orthodox friends to make what from their standpoint are really honest concessions conceived in a spirit of heavy sacrifice to non-Hindus. The only purpose was to secure steady and tranquil mass advancement in this harassed land of ours. Deputed to Malabar by the then Viceroy who perceived the advantageous position of an Indian who was neither a Hindu nor Moslem, I had to witness there in the Mopla riots the shudder with which the Nambudris and other Brahmins contemplated physical contact with the untouchables and non-Aryans. It was there that I saw the wild children of nature, the Moplas, instigated by political bodies, commit atrocities many of which will not bear repetition. Some of the latter from the religious standpoint caused ineffaceably

poignant agony to the Brahmins. And these related not to mere mangling of bodies. That our Pandit, whose customary and traditional mode of life is not far removed from the orthodox of Malabar, should stretch out his hand of loving kindness towards non-Hindus, not only in his own motherland but, as we have seen recently also in Europe, is to my mind a landmark in the acceleration of the Hindu social spirit, expanding towards humanitarianism.

I regret I cannot but agree with many who hold that the Parsis have flourished in India exclusively during the last 150 years of British rule. Documentary evidence shows that with the utmost tolerance that the Hindu Princes extended to us, they often had not the power to protect our religious sanctuaries. In business and ordinary civic avocations the majority of Parsis in pre-British days were a community hardly to be differentiated, as observed by contemporary European travellers, from the lower strata of Hindu society. Parsi material progress was insignificant. Their spiritual growth was almost coincident with

superstition. This may lead one like me, who have left not uninvestigated many periods of Parsi annals, to look with anxiety upon the future. But we feel reassured, the protagonists of political upheaval, like Pandit Malaviya, may be on the highway to procure elimination of the British as a factor to reckon with in our country. Nevertheless, I am satisfied, if not positively gratified, about the future when I complete the certainty that many of the men at the helm will be the embodiment of energy, foresight and a keen eye on the judiciously practical such as Pandit Malaviya is endowed with by nature. The majority of of leaders of his generation, and all of the younger one, temperamentally regard the minorities not without solicitude. The Hindu society has long looked upon the Pandit with reverence, confidence, hope. The Parsis, their spiritual kinsmen and compatriots, do not mis-calculate when they too look up to him with equal assurance for fair dealings in all the great coming events which have been casting their mystifying shadows before us since the rise of Mahatma Gandhi.

Authority on Central Asian Questions.

Nariman was an exhaustive mine of information on problems pertaining to Central Asia, which was due to his being a profound student of several languages and his ability to get into touch with persons possessing knowledge of local questions in different countries of Central Asia and elsewhere, who could provide him with first-hand knowledge, concerning these countries. Again, he had the opportunity of visiting places like Afghanistan, where he studied all the conditions of the country, social, economic, and political. He was asked by all leading newspapers to contribute on Central Asian problems, whenever necessity arose for the same. In this connection, he might be safely ranked with Rawlinson and Spooner, who, in their days, unfolded the hidden realm of knowledge, pertaining to Central Asia. Central Asia has been always a knotty problem, both to the Imperialist and Socialistic countries of the world. With the growing tide of affairs, it is being increasingly realised that Central Asia would one day prove to be the principal ground, where the question of two divergent interests between two different types of structures of states would be fought out. Unfortunately, now, there are left no scholars amongst us, who could enlighten us on some of the deep and intricate economic and political questions, in reference to this particular part of the Asiatic continent. Nariman had

a sound grasp of the question. and he was fortified by the intellectual support he received from leading Europeans, who figured in the complexity of Central Asian politics. Among the places he visited was Persia, and when General Sir Percy Sykes came to know about it, he wrote to Nariman in the following terms :—

“ I was much interested to learn that you had actually visited Persia and had made a comprehensive journey. I showed your letter to Mr. F. H. Brown, of the ‘Times’.”

So early as 1924, Nariman proceeded to Persia. In an instructive article, which was greatly appreciated and widely read, Nariman wrote about the monarch of Afghanistan, as follows :—

“ Being Musalman to the core, he (King Amanullah) has abolished slavery, concubage and those other customs which kept womankind in shackles. Himself a monogamist, he has severely checked polygamy. As the ruler of non-Musalman subjects, he has placed the Hindu on perfect equality with his co-religionists. The Shia in this land of Sunnis labours under

no disabilities. Hindus are sent out to European capitals for study and training. On their return, they are bound to leaven the mind of the average Afghan with progressive notions and aspirations.....I have often been asked if the Bolshevicks are pushing on their propaganda unhindered. My answer is an affirmative so far as Afghan Turkistan is concerned. For be it said to the credit of the Russians that they make no secret of their ultimate designs. They have faith in their new gospel. They also believe it their duty to propagate their evangel into all the eastern countries. I was anxious to give a fair account of the Bolshevik activities, but unfortunately I have been debarred from an opportunity of seeing Russia from within. From my observations, which do not claim to cover long experience, it is evident that the Bolshevicks with their revolutionary message are busy in at least the northern portions of the Amir's territory, marching with the new Provinces created on a linguistic basis like Uzbekistan. I have no personal acquaintance with the author of the lecture delivered recently before the Central Asia Society, nor do I

know the Russian prince, who contributed an article to the recent issue of the 'Asiatic Review.' My views, nevertheless, coincide with theirs in general. The Russian is at pains to learn the Persian, very akin to the idiom of Iran, and communicate his subversive system of philosophy to the Afghan home. The German par parenthesis is not less assiduous. The most sumptuously illustrated volume on Afghanistan in any language is by Nwidermeyer.....I may be permitted to point to the paramount necessity first, of great watchfulness on our part, coupled with deeper interest in the happenings in this section of the globe and secondly to what appears to me of still more vital moment, the pregnant desirability of seeking the goodwill of kind Amanullah Khan, who impresses all who know him as a powerful potentate who has consecrated himself to a life of tranquil neighbourliness on his frontier and peaceful development of the natural resources of his country, the uplift of which he places above every other conceivable concern."

Nariman lived a life of strenuous labour in the service of his community. During the latter part of his

life, he greatly interested himself in writing and preaching about communal unity, on which he believed, rested the future of his motherland, and the prosperity of his own community. Though not a Congressman himself, like eminent precursors of his, like Behramji Malabari, the Editor of the "Indian Spectator", and the "East and West", he always supported true nationalism in the correct sense of the term. He was a zealous reformer, and while wishing for reforms in every direction, both in his community and in his country, he advocated a rigid devotion to the British Government. Journalism was his principal activity. Essentially and temperamentally he was a Sadhu, and by occupation a scholar. He attempted to find Nirvana, in which he profoundly believed, by investigating the hidden and unknown theological truths underlying such ancient oriental religions as Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Islam and his greatness lay in assimilating truths manifested in all those religions, which he found could so co-operate with one another as to bring out unity of religious interest of the diverse Oriental races. Religious by nature, he meddled but too little with the mundane affairs of every-day life. His was a secluded house, far away in a nook in Bombay, which was made sacred by his constant presence, and which was looked upon as a holy home of pilgrimage by learned theologians and scholars from all the world over. No

scholar of eminence landed in Bombay, either from upcountry or from far off West, who failed to visit Nariman and gain knowledge and illumination from his personal contact. He lived and died in harness. At a later period of his life, he was deeply immersed in turning out a great and scholarly production for the benefit of the Parsis, which he left unpublished. That posthumous work today is greatly appreciated in manuscript, as a promising production of great value. The works, for which Nariman's name would remain immortal in the history of scholarship both in India and the West are principally four, which are as follows:—

1. "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism."
2. "Iranian Influence on Modern Literature" from the Russian of Imastranzev.
3. "Priyadarsika", journey with Jackson and Ogden;
4. "Religion of the Iranian peoples" from the German of Tiele.

These are an inexhaustible mine of knowledge, which will stand unparalleled for years to come. Nariman lived a persistent student from the beginning of his life up to the end. He never shoved off the crust of studentship so long as he lived; nor did he feel

himself fossilized at a particular stage, as most of us are too apt later in our careers, but he lived, even at the age of sixty, a zealous seeker after knowledge. Finding truth in the principles of Zoroastrianism, he had consciously embraced them as the way of spiritual salvation and would go the most difficult way of understanding them, if necessity arose. Once he wanted to study the Armenian literature, which he had found, during his study, to be useful, in expounding some unknown points of the Zoroastrian faith. As if the learning of several Western languages and such hard Oriental languages as Pali, Sanskrit, Avesta and Pehlavi and Arabic was not enough, at the declining period of his age, when he was just going to pass to the bounds of eternity, he endeavoured to requisition the services, from Beyrout, of a learned Munshi, who could initiate him into the knowledge of the Armenian language. Nariman breathed his last on the 4th April 1933 (leaving behind him among others, his brother (1) Dr. B. K. Nariman, M.B; Cm. (Edin) late M. O. Gold Coast Rly & C. M. O. B. G. J. P. Rly. (2) Professor R. K. Nariman, the only Parsi M. C. I. E. and one of the five Parsi Cooper's Hill Engineers and (3) Major J. K. Nariman late I. M. S)

Among the numerous messages of sympathy, received at his sad demise, I shall take only two to indicate the high estimation Nariman was held in by

the highest men in the country. One is from Lord Lamington, who was once the Governor of Bombay. He writes :—

“Your letter of the 20th September has reached me tonight. I hasten to say how deeply I am concerned at the passing of your brother. Most eulogistic of his life wish is the article you enclose. . . .”

The other is from Lord Willingdon, whose communications of appreciation, pertaining to Nariman's services in the Mopla riots and in other important state business, I have not thought desirable to publish, lest the biography be too lengthy. Says Lord Willingdon, at present the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, as follows:—

“His Excellency the Viceroy was very sorry to hear of the death of your brother Mr. G. K. Nariman and has asked me to convey to you an expression of his deep sympathy on your loss.”

Woman in Sasanian Law.

I have intended in the present book not only to bring out some of the salient features in the life of Nariman, but also to incorporate a few extracts from

his unpublished writings with a view to interesting the reader in them. If Nariman had lived a little longer perhaps they might have seen the light of the day; but now that he is no more, incorporation of some of the same in the present book may reduce the remoteness of chances of future publication at the hand of some intelligent and intellectual reader appreciative of Nariman's scholarly acumen.

In the early twenties of the present century Prof. Bartholomae had compiled a monumental lexicon of the Avesta. This high authority on Parsi religion, history, and antiquity had turned to researches in Pahlavi and was engaged on two series of five tracts, one relating to general studies in Pahlavi; the other to abstracts from an actual law book which was used in the Sasanian period. It is called *Madigan-i-hazar-Dadistan*. The law book contains much that we want to know, but unhappily more, which the orthodox would not like to have or know at all. Nariman, however, thought that we could not on exclusively sentimental grounds for ever put the deadening lid over what might be considered as undesirable information. Out of these ten tracts Prof. Bartholomae has constructed the *position of woman in Sasanian times*. It is a kind of conspectus in which Dr. Bartholomae gives the real status of the Zoroastrian woman in Persia of those days, on the authority of the Pahlavi text.

Nariman wrote a long commentary left unpublished on the same, from which I take the following extracts :—

“The Persian world Empire erected by Cyrus and consolidated by Darius I, after a duration of 220 years, became internally decayed and crumbled to pieces under the assaults of Alexander the Great in 330 B. C., but it continued to exist for over 500 years till it was in a position to re-establish itself as a national Persian Empire. This second one was the Empire of the Sasanians founded by Ardeshir in the year 220 A. D. It endured 420 years. It could not resist the attacks of the Arabs. In the year 645 the last of Persian provinces fell into Arab hands. It is the period between 250 to 620 A. D. to which we refer in the following study.

We are rich in information touching the exterior history of the political Sasanian Empire. We have also indigenous reports, although they are before us only in the garb of Arabic translations and compilations. We have foreign sources, Roman and Greek, for our knowledge of the Empire of the Sasanians

which came in contact, mostly hostile, with the Western Roman Empire and later on with the Eastern. Much more scanty are the sources for the internal condition of the Empire. In this respect too we have many bits of information mainly regarding matters which were conspicuous to the outsider. We know of the all-powerful position of the soldier and the priestly class, the military and civil administration with their strong aristocratic leanings. The penal code, generally fair was at times, specially with reference to the heretics, emphatically cruel. We know of the measureless pomp and the immensely elaborated ceremonials at the court which moved the stranger who saw it for the first time to admiration or ridicule. We are also in possession of the data of scientific and literary importance, the culture propagated zealously and with understanding especially by King Khusraw in the second half of the sixth century. The West is considerably indebted to this monarch. King Khusraw had the works of great philosophers and men of learning translated in the official language of the Sasanians which we call the Mid Persian or Pahlavi. These transla-

tions were a few centuries later again rendered into Arabic and the Arabic version constituted the foundation of the prosperity of science developed in Spain under the Moors. From Spain mainly through the instrumentality of the Jews it considerably influenced and fertilized the rest of the civilised nations of Europe. Khusraw had also Indian literary works translated like the famous Panchatantra which has attained to world importance again through the instrumentality of an Arabic translation; since from it, it was disseminated in numerous languages and became the fount of fables, tales and anecdotes of the Western nations.

But as regards the question touching the family and the family law in the Sasanian times, the indigenous as well as foreign records, known to us till within a short time ago, supplied exceedingly meagre information. As to the native sources, we refer to books in Pahlavi like the *Dinkard* and the *Shayest-Neshayist* as well as those in modern Persian, chiefly the *Rivayats*, or collections of religious traditions. The *Rivayats* no doubt contained partial

and onesided material and the oldest of them is not earlier than the close of the fifteenth century. During this interval, however, of several centuries from the destruction of the Sasanian Empire to the days of the Rivayats, many and deep viscissitudes had overtaken those Parsis who had remained true to the ancient state religion and their Zoroastrian faith in Persia under the influence of the entirely altered environments with respect to their outlook on life, manners and customs. Accordingly, the information supplied by the Rivayats can be regarded as applicable to the Sasanian times only in a restricted measure. Much indeed, was and still is anathema to the Parsi immigrants into India which was in previous times lawful. How exiguous was the totality of the information of this nature was available till lately is seen from the valuable book of the Danish scholar published in 1907, who has undertaken the task of describing the social structure, the public institutions and the usages of the Persians in his "Sasanian Civilization". The chapter on family and society does not occupy there more than five pages or 20th part of the book.

This gulf in our knowledge is for a good part, though not entirely, bridged by two books which have been brought to our knowledge during the last few years. They are the *corpus juris* of Jesubokht and the Law Book of Farrokh, two important works on jurisprudence although of unequal value for our investigation.

The *corpus juris* was originally composed in Pahlavi. But it has come down to us only in a Syriac translation. It dates from the second half of the eighth century and is the production of a Christian Metropolitan. His name is Jesubokht, which means "emancipated by Jesus." It was intended for the contemporary Christian congregation in Persia. But it was reared indubitably on Persian Zoroastrian law. In one place we find a verbal agreement with the other Pahlavi law book. Accordingly, the authors of both the works, the Syriac and the Pahlavi, have drawn upon the self-same source. But the importance of the Syriac *corpus juris* our knowledge of the Sasanian Jurisprudence is diminished by the fact, first, that the author is under the influence of the Byzantine legislature of

Leo the Great, and secondly, chiefly because, it was drawn up for Christians. For the family law must have been extensively modified to meet the requirements of the Christian tenets.

Of incomparably greater importance is the book of Farrokh, the Madigan i-hazar-Dadistan, or the book of Thousand Legal Decisions, which contains in fact the Sasanian Jurisprudence. It was composed in Sasanian times. Its author was a Zoroastrian jurist. The number "thousand" in the title of the book is not to be taken literally, it corresponds to the term in the Arabian Nights, which in original Persian was *Hazar Afsaneh* or Thousand Tales. In this book a large number of cases are adduced together with the decisions of judges, with the opinions pronounced by this or that lawyer on the judgment. More often than not the lawyer's name is mentioned. Some thirty commentators are quoted whose names alone have survived. The book has been divided into chapters, but the rubrics and the contents do not always correspond. The book is by no means a performance of pre-eminent merit. But as the juristic production of the

Sasanian epoch it has high value. Unfortunately the single manuscript dates from the seventeenth century and is consequently not very old and has not been transmitted to us completely. The existing seventy-five leaves betray many gaps. Besides, the transcriber has used an economy of care which greatly aggravates the difficult reading of the ambiguous Pahlavi script. When the first piece of the book unfortunately edited in two sections came to Dr. Bartholomae's hands he was not in a position to utilize it as his interest in it required. It was only a few years later when he had brought to conclusion other undertakings which he had in hand that he could turn to the *Madigan i-hazar-Dadistan*. No one however, has in the interval treated of the book from among the exceedingly circumscribed circle of learned men who understand the language and no one has followed him in print. He remained alone in the field. This is to be deeply regretted in the interest of the object of our research. For it means the absence of control which would be throughout necessary in view of the difficulties of the text. The treatise has been written by a

urist for jurists of his day. It contains a number of legal technical expressions which are now antiquated and the reader is presumed to understand them, and yet the reader fails to understand them. We must construe the text laboriously by comparison of analogous passages. That, however, the process is at times likely to mislead one, can very well be imagined, especially as we have to work on a single manuscript.

Codified law, whether penal or civil, the Sasanian Empire had none. This is evident from the treatise and is besides expressly reported by the Christian authority, Jesubokht. There were however, and that too apparently at an early date, private and perhaps also official compilations of law in its diverse branches, which in accordance with the judgments of the courts were regarded as operative law. Nor is it in question that there was an extensive scientific legal literature. Legal talents disputed with vehemence, verbally and in writing; complex cases. They entered into controversies over real and also hypothetical cases. Now in the treatise before us we have extracts from that voluminous literature covering a

considerable period. Happily it does not represent any one single phase alone. The compiler, who personally keeps himself almost entirely in the background, has made his selections from materials before him on no rigid principle. He has gathered together whatever appeared to him important, irrespective of whether it was antiquated or new and whether it appertained to any one school of law or not. Hence it comes about that the judgments are often mutually contradictory,—a fact, scarcely observed or commented upon by the author, and repetitions have often escaped his notice. What is presented here to the reader on the position of women in the Sasanian Empire and her legal status is based entirely on decisions in what may be termed the parent Law Book.

In accordance with the jurisprudence inherited by the Sasanian Empire, woman was no subject but an object in law, though, in course of time, her legal status was improved. The old legal principle continued only in theory. In practice it was not applied to the younger generation or it was

deprived of its operative force by other decisions. And the head of the family who insisted on old law and who would translate it into practice, found himself in glaring contrast with the legal sentiments of his compatriots. Women, in the times of the Sasanian Empire have set out on an ascending course which would have led them to independence from their condition of physical and moral bondage had the empire not come to sudden disruption at the hand of the Arabs.

Education of Youths.

One remark has to be interpolated here. Nearly all that we can gather from the law book on the position of females refers to wives and daughters of the capitalist classes and tradesmen, men of middle class, ecclesiastics who stood next to them as proprietors, and lastly and principally, the wealthy nobility. For the possession of property and ownership are assumed in every case so far as we know. We derive no information about the social condition of the plebian classes or the proletariat who owned no property.

Here we have some information on the education of the children of the better classes. The boys and girls up to their fifteenth year were entrusted almost solely to be looked after by the women in the house. It was after they had attained this age that their proper and adequate education commenced. We have unfortunately no data on the education of girls. We are better informed about boys. A small tract in Pahlvi which was some years ago edited and translated by a Parsi scholar, Dr. Jamshed Unvala, gives us the clue with most interesting details. The hero in the story is a youth who offers his services to King Khusraw. He comes of a distinguished family and had lost his father when very young, and was the only son of his mother. He was however, efficiently brought up by his guardian and now before the King he enumerates all he had learnt and all he knew. The catalogue of his accomplishments is after the magniloquent model of the Shahnamah. The bombast grates on our modern ears. But it may be forgiven in view of the rich picture it unfolds of the culture history of the period. The family

from which he has sprung has always been renowned, wealthy, and independent. He has received from his guardian his patrimony of stately riches in cash and kind. He was put to school in due course and learnt by heart the Yasht, Hadokht, Yasna and Vandidad like any Ervad, mastering the interpretation of the scriptures. In higher education he excelled in fine arts. He is a friend of history, and proficient in erudite eloquence; skilled in riding and archery, expert with the javelin, the mace and the sword; clever at the race course, at the game of balls, at chess, in vocal and instrumental music playing on the lyre, the guitar, the zithar; a champion in putting questions and in answering problems. In astronomy he is profound. This does not however exhaust the list of his interminable, accomplishments. The youth proves to the king in answering critical queries his familiarity with the epicurian art of the Persian connoisseurs, of the best sweets, the most tasty of fowls, the daintiest parts of game, fruit and fish, dried fruit of all varieties, the choicest wines, sweet scented flowers and essence; his knowledge of elegant raiments,

silks and perfumes,—every article of current necessity and most refined and rare luxury in which the voluptuous world of Sasanian aristocracy habitually indulged.

In examining the social fabric of the Sasanians with respect to its womanhood we should not ignore a few facts which are of cardinal moment. Else we must renounce all pretence to research.

First: in examining any institution widely prevalent in those days, we must not allow our present day notions on its ethical nature to obtrude themselves and cloud our judgment. For it goes without saying that a custom considered salubrious by one generation is often rejected as detrimental to the human race by another and *vice versa*. To take a couple of most obvious instances. The Moslem countries of Turkey and Egypt which were supposed to have been ruined by polygamy have themselves come to denounce the institution and laws have been enacted, or are about to be enacted, in these and other Islamic countries in favour of rigid monogamy. There are schools in present day Egypt like the Manar which

read into Qoran not only no sanction for a plurality of wives but positive prohibition of more than one. On the other hand, the present tendency in the Western countries both on the continent of Europe and in England is to look upon more than one nuptial tie with encouraging complaisance. There are many who hold that under the circumstances arising out of the last great war, polygamy would be a blessing to the diminished population of Christendom. And polygamy has been tacitly acknowledged by Europe and America when the latter legitimised children born out of wedlock. No institution therefore should be judged by us as heavenly or diabolical in the light of the fashionable or prevailing opinions of the age. It should be ours, dispassionately to get at the normal conditions of society as existed and as it was generally regarded by the eminent minds of the times. It would not be in consonance with our vaunted position of an advanced community in India to perpetually boast of our progress and suppress, what some of us may be pleased to style, ugly blots on our civilization which were best left in everlasting oblivion.

Appeal for Pahlavi Translations.

In the second place we must call back to our minds a duty to ourselves in the discharge of which we have indulged in reprehensible procrastination. We have still kept certain Pahlavi books untranslated and that often through the ignoble reason that its published contents would harm certain parties or a particular school of thought.

The time has long since past when one should complain that injunctions such as are embodied in this venerable book would promote heresy and bring religion in peril. Pioneers of reform such as Sorabji Bengali had the courage to point to certain instances of priestly corruption and its cure, the first prescription of which were certain very candid reflections on the morals of preceding generations. They were supported by a consciousness of doing the right. Now when learned men labour to reconstruct for us our past, especially foreigners, who labour out of love, they should be looked up to with a sense of gratitude even where they appear to err in their interpretation.

“What were our customs and manners, our mode of dress and food under the Sasanians?” This was eagerly enquired of me by the courteous and cultured Zoroastrians of Yezd who are awakening to a consciousness of their historic past. The ladies in particular were curious. They want to discard the abominable parti-coloured clothing and resume pre-Moslem attire. It won’t do to perpetually whimper and exclaim “Oh! the Arabs; they have left us nothing to learn from”—when it is cast in our teeth that the Arabs were originally prohibited on pain of punishment from imitating the Persian modes or even purchasing a piece of land in Persia, lest the old country’s degenerate luxury should contaminate the hardy barbarians of Arabia. “Where are your sacred and semi-sacred writings?” I asked of our warm-hearted co-religionist in Persia and one of the unfortunate men handed me a collection of Persian Rivayats as Pahlavi Dinkard! Could we as men of conscience attribute our ignorance to foreigners in the face of the testimony of our Ervads that Parsi priesthood had exchanged, at least in India,

commerce for religious exercise to the extent that our religious books were got copied by Muhammadan scribes who had no prejudices or scruples to transcribe texts glorifying the law of Hormazd above all laws? Much that we thirst to know is contained in books like the *Madigan*. Only the requisite information is mixed up with data and dicta which did not consist with our mentality of the 18th and 19th centuries. To avoid the undesirable we abandoned the whole. But we have grown more tolerant. We have learnt to make allowances for the peculiar exigencies of climes and epochs.

Who should then undertake the exposition of a treatise like the *Madigan*? The *Madigan* is written in a difficult and involved style of Pahlavi. It is obvious that our official priesthood felt a certain delicacy in interpreting such a text in a way other than the traditional, which very many of us would like to see perpetuated. It is this hesitation which is also partly answerable for the delay in editing and translating Pahlavi works. How far nevertheless our erudite Dasturs have advanced

in their familiarity with Pahlavi could be measured from the distance traversed from the 1st volume of the Dinkard published in 1874 to the XVII which was issued last year by Dasturji Darab Sanjana. The pronunciation is changed out of all recognition, which is perhaps a pity, because we would like to hand down how Parsi exegeses of the Avesta pronounced *huzwarish*. I would much rather that our venerable Dasturs who are the enlightened custodians of traditional knowledge and usages were excluded from opining on controversial points on which they are under obligation to give only an *ex cathedra* verdict.

Pahlavi still awaits adequate appreciation at the hands of Parsi lay scholars. There is a prejudice among them against Pahlavi writings. They consider the Avesta to be the only authentic scriptures. They are slow to recognise the fact that the Dinkard has preserved in a Pahlavi synopsis a large percentage of the Avesta perished before the Sasanians. That Avesta texts are not without palpable interpolations and offences against grammar does not disturb their faith. They choose to remember only

that it is with Pahlavi that its custodians have played havoc. Set to grapple with Pahlavi, our Dasturs are placed in a position which should be avoided. Times change but the masses would not. Every generation does not bring forward an intrepid Dhalla preferring honored independence to regular income and humble life to equipage, coupled with periodic offerings of incense to cotton Izads and steel Amsaspands. Hence the natural, if sorry, spectacle of some Dasturs playing fast and loose with the text and interpretation of a Pahlavi treatise in former times. A classic instance of this doctoring of a text was noted at Navsari. Not quite two hundred years ago two copies, one in Avesta and the other in Avesta with Pahlavi, were found of an extraordinary text called the *Vaetha Nask*. It did not take the European expert long to detect that the book was written to order. The forgery was committed for the settling of the inheritance of the children of a non-Zoroastrian wife. And the fabricated authority fixed it at half the property while the widow was to receive the other half. This was contrary to the

current ecclesiastical view which denied illegitimate children any title to a share in paternal estate.

Zoroastrian Usages.

A third point: it is one which has escaped notice in the long history of Zoroastrian studies. Zoroastrianism at one time had spread over such a vast area, when intercommunication between the various provinces of the empire was not rapid, that the usages of the district were in conflict with those of another. Indeed, if the reader will bear with me I shall satisfy him that the phenomenon we observe in the wide-flung and protracted course of Buddhism is not absent from the Parsi religion. So extensively Buddhism of a given period or country diverges from that of another that we find we have to deal with not one organic system of religion but several Buddhisms. And that applies to Zoroastrianism. Thus our Rivayats speak of certain customs as opposed to the vogue of the people of Samarkand. The record of this disagreement is evidence, first, that there was a large population of Parsis in

Samarkand down to the sixteenth century, and secondly that it had rites and tenets which did not commend themselves to the majority. If indeed we examine with due patience and tolerance our neglected Pahlavi and despised Persian authorities we will find it impossible to make a dogmatic pronouncement on many questions of social intercourse, ritual, and even tenets. These invaluable data for Parsi history we owe to another priceless work of Dr. Bartholomae.

Zoroastrianism, to take another instance, of the diversity of its local developments, has no where unequivocally inculcated a life of celibacy and vegetarianism, or unresisting renunciation. But there are heaps of references in Pahlavi from which a plausible hypothesis of Zoroastrian monasticism or monastic of Zoroastrianism can be constructed and that too without violence to historical data or philological canon. The *Aogamaeda* has the tone and accent and outlook on life which make the little text read like a Gatha not of Zarthusra, but of the Elder disciples of the Buddha. And should we hound him who sees self-abnegation in Zoroastrian *Aogamaeda* as a heretic off the field of

Avesta research? If not him, why the detached foreigner who is above writing or translating with furtive glances at the Parsi funds and the dispensers of its patronage? Differences of opinion in estimating the contents of a text should rather be cordially welcomed after the example of prophet Muhammad. When Muhammad was approached with the complaint that divergent glosses were put upon his doctrine he replied; *Ikhhtilaful-ummati-rehmatun*,—difference of opinion among his followers was a sign of grace to him. It certainly was an evidence of liberty of conscience. It is in this spirit of tolerance gratefully recognising the herculean labours and patience of Dr. Bartholomae that we should receive his studies especially when his honest conclusions differ from ours. If his preliminary studies stimulate our people to speed up the publication of translation of *Madigan* and other books reposing in private libraries, in accordance with the traditional method, he will have achieved much. The “*Madigan-i-Hazar-Dadistan*” swarms with differing conflicting, contradictory dicta. They demonstrate freedom of individual thought and implied

acknowledgment of the high axiom of tolerance that two dissenting legal opinions may both ethically provide a guidance. And I plead for tolerance.

Dasturs Differ.

It cannot be accentuated too conspicuously that we are dealing with (1) the legal status of woman exclusively in the Sasanian period describing (2) as she was treated in actuality with reference to her position in the doctrine of Zoroaster.

It is not pretended that here we investigate the correctness of the Sasanian procedure from the scriptural point of view. Dr. Bartholomae presents us a delineation of the position of the woman in the eye of the law as it was administered by the Zoroastrian Jurists.

The subject of marriage has been treated by two of our distinguished high priests in their authoritative books—by Shams-ul-Ulema Dasturji Darab Sanjana and Dasturji Dr. Dhalla. The two prelates occupy in a manner antipolar positions with regard to their theological views,—a fact however,

which has not prevented them, in the eye of the discerning Parsis from receiving the honour due to their great learning and industry. Dasturji Darab has translated the *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians* by Professor W. Geiger happily still among us. It is a book published so far back as in 1885 and it can scarcely be stated to be antiquated though we have now Dr. Dhalla's "*Zoroastrian Civilization*" with its abundance of 'documentation' and independance of judgment. In translating Geiger, Dasturji Darab encountered just those obstacles which in my opinion stand in the way of all our ecclesiastical dignitaries giving their conscientious opinion on certain of our usages. Let me ask for a little close attention to the chapter on "Love and Marriage" at page 60 of Vol. 1. Comparing the faithful English translation with the original we find that of the 37 paragraphs of the German, Dastur Darab has been compelled to omit a portion of the 29th and the whole of the 32nd and 33rd and that, as an honest translator working on the elevated level of his sacred theme, he has duly indicated the gaps. The people, therefore who have got

his book before them and are made aware of the abbreviation with a probity worthy of his learned accuracy are not always justified in quoting Geiger as an authority as discrediting polygamy among Sasanian Zoroastrians. For the passages where the fullest weight of Geiger's argument is developed are absent from the translation.

In para 29 Geiger refers to the opening sentences of Yasna 38 which would appear to be conclusive on the point of polygamy among the Zoroastrians.

The omitted portion of para 32 quotes a passage from Herodotus which proves polygamy to the hilt and a good deal more. But Herodotus, Strabo and the whole group of Greek and Latin writers are properly ruled out of court in a discussion which relies exclusively on the *ipissima verba* of a Pahlavi law book.

Para 33 which is entirely omitted by the Dasturji Darab summons a witness I have already tendered, the *Shah Nameh*, the case of the Prophet himself, and the famous Pahlavi tract of Ardaviraf.

Turning to our other and more recent authority Dasturji Dhalla. He has given masterly synopsis of the dicta of Pahlavi writers who flourished in the Sasanian period and a few pithy paragraphs, pregnant with needed information. And he supplements his evidence with this candid avowal :-

"The Pahlavi writers of the period, do not seem to hold woman in as high esteem as did the writers of the Kianian period. Her first and last duty it is said to obey her husband and the Pahlavi writers who are of course, all of the male sex condemn her to sufferings in hell if she was wanting in obedience to her lord. Viraf pictures the soul of a woman wending its way towards infernal regions reminding the pious soul of her husband that as her Lord upon earth it was his duty to have guided her on the path of righteousness and not to have allowed her to lapse in wickedness so that now after death she could have accompanied him to heaven instead of going to hell. A post-Sasanian work long held in very great esteem has it, that though it is the duty of man to pray three times a day, the prayer proper for a woman is that during three watches

of a day, she should approach her husband with folded hands and seek to know his will that she may carry it out obediently."

Nevertheless, being the high priest Dasturji Dhalla is an accredited custodian of Zoroastrian lore, he passes over in silence the embarrassingly rich material in Pahlavi arguing the custom of a plurality of wives under the Sasanians. By the way, in order to focus the attention of the Zoroastrians to his standard work, this Dasturji ought to have composed it as well, he could have, in a continental language without which envelope it has not the halo of a "savant's" writing and the odour of foreign sanctity demanded by the masses.

I do not think very much is gained by bringing on the stage the western authorities at this late hour in the day. The Parsi community is no longer devoid of scholars who can speak with confidence on any subject relating to their religion or culture. If I point to the investigations of men like Dr. Bartholomae it is not because infallibility inheres in their interpretations or that their pronouncement must necessarily outweigh the decisions of our spiritual chiefs but because in virtue of their office our prelates are precluded from exercising the necessary freedom in textual exegesis of Pahlavi texts

some of which have been treasured by us though containing heretical doctrines which we have allowed to perish authentic records, seeking to cover our careless ignorance under the now transparent mask of foreign oppression. Those who now refer to Spiegel, Haug, Darmesteter, Harlez are the happy souls still breathing the atmosphere of the eighties of the last century. I would not be a party to the cruelty of disturbing their placidity. They are welcome to the English translations of these continental authorities. We can directly refer to them and at times show that their books on which the Puritans rely point, as in case of Geiger, quite the other way.

Some years ago I suggested to those concerned that the entire V chapter of the third volume of Spiegel's "Iranian Antiquity" be made accessible to the Parsis. Whether it has been acted upon, I have no knowledge. For, of course, people who can hardly distinguish between German and Italian, Russian and French have a prior divine right. It is cherished prerogative of Sasanian times to decide on such questions and to receive bountifully to present and patronise or ostracise translations of books of this generation of obscure drudges in Sindh or the Deccan. I have no desire to poach on their hereditary preserve. It will suffice for my purpose to point to Pahlavi texts which still remain the prey of the diligent "Silver fish" and will probably be comp-

letely destroyed by the time the heirs of their present venerable owners decide on their publication. I say, if Spiegel's said chapter is before the average educated member of the community, the ground is cut from under the feet of protagonists of Sasanian monogamy who base their protests on *marhum* Spiegel of the immortal soul.

BARHTOLD'S IRAN

By

G. K. Nariman



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- I. The place of the Iranians, of Iran, and of the Iranian culture in world-history.
- II. Geography and ethnography of Iran.
- III. Historical literature in Persian (including translations and imitations.)
- IV. European investigations in the domain of the history of Iran and of the Iranian culture.
- V. Russian research works.

Barthold's Iran.

In compiling a historical sketch of Iran, one must bear in mind that the geographical conception of Iran, does not coincide either with the idea or the territory occupied by Iranian peoples as an ethnographical unit, or with the domain of influence of the Iranian culture, or yet with the spread of Persian, the Iranian literary language.

In ancient times, both India and Iran were occupied by a people calling themselves Aryans — *arya* in India, *ariya* or *airya* in the ancient Iranian dialects.*

In the inscriptions of King Darius, the word "Aryans" refers, as it seems, solely to the population of Iran. India and the Indians got their names from the frontier river *Sind* (*Sindhu*) in the Iranian pronunciation *Hindu* (the Indian *s* generally corresponds to the Iranian *h*) on our present day's maps, "Indus". From the Persians, that name passed on to the Greeks, and, like most Greek names, was adopted into the

* As the Tashkent Presses did not possess any interliner signs, they were unable to preserve the original transcription of names in Roman characters used by the author in his original.

present day geographical terminology. In the Iranian Sacred Scriptures (Awesta) the term *Hindu* is used as the name of a river, and they speak about the "Seven Hindus" (*hapta hindu*) which corresponds exactly to the Indian term "*sapta sindhava*". The Indian, "Seven Rivers" received that name from the Indus, the Kabul and the five rivers of the Punjab (that is the "five rivers"), Chinab, with its tributaries, the Jelam, and Ravi, and the Sutlej, with its tributary, the Bias. Opposed to the Aryans are the Turs (*tura*, adjective *tuirya*) and Sarims (*Sairima*). By the latter, it is supposed, we are to understand the Sarmatians of the Greeks, a Central Asian people of the same stock as the Iranians. This opinion is shared by many scholars.

Most probably the Turanians were of the same race and lived also in Central Asia. In other words, the population of Iran dissociated themselves in a like manner, both from the Indian "Aryans" and their Central Asian brethren.

The word "Iran", originally "Aeran", makes its first appearance at a later period and is the genitive plural from the word *airya* (*Airyanam*) in the sense of: the land of the Arians. For the first time, we find that word in its Greek form "Ariane" in Eratosthenes (3rd Century B. C.) from whom Strabo borrowed his information. The boundaries of this "Ariana", or Iran, were as under:—

The Indus in the East, the Hindukush and the Mountain ranges to its West—in the North, the Iranian Ocean in the South : its Western frontier extended from the Caspian Gates—a mountain-pass eastward from Tehran, along the line which divided Parthia from Media, and Karamania (Kerman) from Persis (Pars). The term : the land of the Arians was obviously understood not in the ethnographical but solely in the political sense of the word, that was the name of the country united under the power of the Arsacids,—a dynasty which rebelled against the Greek conquerors. The regions remaining under Greek rule, in the West (the Seleucid state) as well as in the northwest (the Greeco-Bactrian state) were not comprised within the scheme of Iran. In course of time, under the Sasanids, Babylonia, a region with a Semitic population containing the capital of the Shah-in-Shah was not only amalgamated with Iran, but even considered as “the heart of the Iranian land.” Even nowadays in Persia itself, the term Iran means the kingdom of the Shah-in-Shah. The origin of the word Iran, as well as the ethnographical term “Aryans”, from which it is derived, were forgotten as early as the middle ages. From the word “Iran”, to designating the population of that country, the term “Iranians” (Pers. *Irani*) was derived. To “Iran” is most often opposed, “Turan”, a word derived from “Tur” in the same manner as

"Iran" from "Aryan", only in later times "Turan" was identified with "Turkestan", the land of the Turks.

Quite a different significance is attributed to the words "Iran" and "Turan" in the geographical science. Under "Iran" a table-land is understood, representing a closed reservoir bounded on the North by the Caspian and Aral Seas, on the South, West and East-by the basin of the Indian Ocean, between the Tigris and the Indus. The words "Turan" and "Turanians" were sometimes used in a wider sense, uniting under these terms, the whole Central Asian world from the South Russian steppes up to China distinguishing the Turanians not only from Iranians, but from all the "Aryans" in general. The name of the Ariyans became again known to Europeans in the 18th century, and not from the spoken language, but from the most ancient written monuments of India and Iran. When the affinity of the languages of India and Iran with the European languages was established, the name Aryans began to be applied to all the representatives of the linguistic group embracing the nations, "from India to Iceland". In the course of time, other terms were proposed to take the place of "Aryans"—Indo-European, Indo-German, (especially amongst German scholars) Ario-Europeans when "Aryans" was sought to be reserved only for the Indo-Europeans of Asia, whose forefathers actually called themselves by that name. In spite of it all, however,

the word "Aryans" is still used sometimes in its former sense even in Germany.† The Aryans, in the sense of the Indo-Europeans of Asia "were divided into two branches, the Indian and the Iranian, the name "Iranians" in the linguistic§ sense of the word was applied, independently of the political frontiers, to all the nations, united under that heading on the ground of their linguistic affinities. When, at the end of the 19th century the idea of collecting materials relative to the domain of Iranian philology, languages, literature and history of the Iranians‡ first arose, the linguistic part of this work, comprised idioms from the most Eastern of the Pamir Dialects, the Sarikoli, to Western Kurdish dialects in the Eastern part of the Asia Minor Peninsula. Moreover, the dialect of the so-called Ossetes, who call themselves "Iran", who live in the Caucasus outside the region occupied by the rest of the Iranians to the West of the former Military-georgian road were included. In ancient times, the domain of the spread of Iranian dialects was more extensive still, though, in many cases, the question as to what nations spoke Iranian languages, remains still unsettled.

† Cf. the synopsis of the linguistic materials in Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Air WC) 1904.

§ Marquart in ZDMG, 49 (1895) 628.

‡ The Arabic text in Yakut's geographical Dictionary, 1, 417.

A still wider scope was enjoyed by the chief literary language of Iran, which we call "Modern-Persian" which was formed, at a later period, after the introduction of Islam. It was a written language, even far outside the linguistic limits of Iran from Constantinople (to the period of the Turkish Sultan Selim II, 1566-1574, belonged to a number of Persian Poets) to Calcutta and to the cities of Chinese Turkestan. The historian of Iranian culture has to take into consideration both that fact and the still more numerous translations from Persian and imitations of the Persian standard works.

(1)

The Place of Iranians of Iran and of the Iranian Culture in World History

The historical problem of the destinies of the Iranians outside the boundaries of Iran is closely connected with certain questions, which can only be decided with the help of the available linguistic and archaeological materials:—about their original mother-country, about the migrations of the Indo-Europeans, Aryans and Iranians and the question as to which of the nations, known to us by name, must be considered by us as Iranian. There has grown up an extensive literature relative to these problems. As there is indubitable linguistic and cultural affinity between the Ira-

nians and the Eastern Havs, every historian dealing with the early period of the history of the Russian language and of the Russian nation, has had to give his attention to these Iranian questions. Amongst others, the late A. A. Shakhmatov, the author of the last classical work in this domain,[§] occupied himself with the fascinating inquiry. With all that, our researches do not yet give any exact answers to these questions. Many of the facts that seemed well-established have again become uncertain, during the last few years, partly under the influence of new theories, partly, thanks to newly discovered materials. The views given expression to in Shakhmatov's book were the result of the investigations of several generations of scholars and may be considered as well established. According to this theory, independently of the earlier migrations of the Aryans, the common ancestors of Indians and Iranians from Europe to Asia,* there was a later exo-

§ Thus, as late as in 1920, N. Soderblom, *Einführung in die Religionsgeschichte*, 7.

* Besides the above quoted example, see also Th. Poesch *Die Arier*, 1878. The time when the term Indo-Germans first made its appearance in science cannot be exactly established. According to the article, "Aryans," in the *Encycl. Brit.* the term was first used by Fr. Schloegel. His "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder" (1808) is quoted, where, however, the word "Indo-Germanen" is not

dus of several Iranian nations from Asia to Europe and across Europe from the East to the West, beginning with Herodot's Scythians, of whom the first intimations refer to the 7th century, B. C. to the Alans.† A part of the latter penetrated with other nations in the 5th C. (B. C.) as far as Spain and Africa, the other part remaining in Southern Russia, up till the Mangol invasion and even afterwards.§ The Ossetes are recognised to be remnants of the Alans.

On the authority§ of the existing archaeological materials a considerable place in the cultural history of

found. It is only possible to say that the term "Indo-Germans" was already in existence at the time of the appearance of Kloppe's "Asia Polyglotta" (1823) and it does not follow from Kloppe's own words that he was the first to apply that term. See J. K. Bolitch, "An essay on the history of linguistics," 1, 2 (in Russian)

† Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie. The publication of it began in 1895, completed in 1904.

§ Cf. for instance, the article "Urheimat der Indogermanen" in "Realllexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde" by O. Schrader (1901). The question was raised as early back as the end of the 18th century. cf. Works of Sir W. Jones III, 185-204, (the address delivered by Jones on the 23rd of February, 1792), where the three chief branches of peoples-the Indian, the Arabian and the Tartarian-are discussed as well as their supposed common mother country-Iran.

§ Introduction to a course of the history of the Russian language, p. 1, 1916 (in Russian.)

Russia and even of Western Europe must be assigned to Iranians. From M. I. Rostofftev's point of view, the coming of the Sarmatians, contributed to the appearance in the Roman Provinces of a new style of architecture the so-called Roman style, which influenced the Gothic style and played a certain part in the history of Western European Art. According to A.A. Spitzin's opinion, the Atans, gave the tone to the culture of the Khazars. These deductions are based on the attempts to date the existing archaeological materials, an extremely difficult matter, which even now, generates diversity of views, among the most distinguished scholars. Last, but not the least, Marr tried lately to give another solution to the "Scythian question" and to prove the ethnological unity of the Scythians and the "Japhetids" of the Caucasus that is, of the pre-Aryan strata of the Armenian people, the Georgians, etc. Farmakovsky was also in favour of the theory of the Yaphetic origin of the Scythians. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to answer definitely the question whether the history of Eastern Europe has actually been influenced by the Iranians. As little are we also able to answer the question whether it is possible to discover any traces of the influence of the Iranian nomads on the way of life and the culture of the later inhabitants of the same steppes, viz. the Turks. The archaeological discoveries of the first years of the 20th

century lead to other questions, concerning the migrations of the Iranians. But the results of all the researches cannot be yet definitely fixed. In 1906, Hugo Winckler, who died in 1913, started excavations in Asia Minor, in the village Boghaz-kein on the place of the ancient capital of Hittites which flourished between the 15th and the beginning of the 12th century B.C. In the records of this people were preserved documents, referring to the Mitanni people, who lived in the Northern part of Mesopotamia. From the names of the divinities of this people, it has become possible to draw the conclusion that their chiefs were Aryans, not yet divided into Indians and Iranians. Edw. Meyer sees in them "the first appearance of Aryans in history". It was established later that the language of the Mitanni is not Aryan, but belongs to Japhetic group. For the word *Kharri* or *Harri*, in which Winckler saw reference to Indian element, proved to be a Japhetic name. In 1919, there was made an attempt to prove that in the inscriptions of Boghaz-kani, several languages are represented, one of them, in which nine-tenths of the inscription is embodied, was recognised to be a mixed language with an Indo-Germanic base. Nowadays, a conclusion has been arrived at, quite contrary to Edw. Meyer's opinion, that the division of Aryans into Indians and Iranians took place, when they were still in Europe, that the most ancient

Indians (*Urindier*) passed through the Caucasus from the North to the South in about 2500 B.C. and occupied the land along the right bank of the Kur from the present Ganjah (Elisabethpol) to the Caspian Sea. According to another theory the Indians passed through the Caucasus in about 1700 B.C., the Iranians following them and little by little driving them on eastwards, sometime about 1000 B.C., There is a third branch of Aryans, quite different from these two, the Sakas. (this word is found, as a popular name, in the Ancient Persian cuneiform inscriptions and is mentioned by Herodotus VII as a Persian name for the Scythians). These Sakas moved from Europe to Asia, not through the Caucasus but by routes lying to the North of Caspian Sea, and in the course of time settled in Turkestan and Afghanistan, thus forming a wedge between Indians and the Iranians. All these theories can by no means be considered as scientifically established facts. They only serve to formulate questions, which require further investigations.

About the same time, expeditions were sent to study the remnants of Buddhist culture in Chinese Turkestan, especially by Germans. One of the first of these was that of Gruewedel in 1902-3. Two others financed by the British, were under Sir Aurel Stein in 1901, and in 1906-7. These expeditions resulted in establishing the fact of the existence in Central Asia during the

period from the 1st, right up to the 10th century A. D., of several formerly unknown Indo-European literary languages. In two of these languages, only translations of Buddhist literature of the 7th century A. D. and of later times, were discovered. These languages at their discovery were first merely labelled "Language I" and "Language II", with a further subdivision of each of them into dialects "A" and "B". "Language I" had been used in the district of Kutch, "Language II" — in the district of Khotan. "Language I" was considered as Indo-European, but not Aryan and in many respects seemed to be nearer to the European group. "Language II" was considered to be Iranian by its grammatical construction, to a considerable degree Indian, by its lexical composition. It was, therefore, proposed to consider it as a third ("Northern") language of the Aryan branch. Against this proposition, it was quite correctly observed that, notwithstanding its lexical borrowings, from a foreign language, "Language II" is as much Iranian as English is Germanic. Since 1908 a discussion has been going on as to the nations, which spoke these languages. Several German & French scholars, before all others F. W. K. Müller, (1907) proposed to name "Language I"—the Tokharian, from the name of the Tokhars, mentioned in Greek sources among the conquerors of the Graeco-Bactrian realm in the 2nd century B.C. For they formerly lived near the Chinese frontier. From the

name of the Tokhars a part of the Bactria was called "Tokharistan", even in Muslim times. From one of the Turkish Buddhist documents, it can be seen that some Buddhist literature existed in the Tokhar language. Mention is made of a translation from the Tokhar language into Turkish of certain works, found amongst the documents in "Language I". Some other scholars, before others Stael von Holstein, in 1908, did not consider this reason as sufficient. They tried to prove that there was no information whatsoever about any Tokhars near Kutcha while they were quite definite about the existence of Tokhars near Khotan, arguing therefore that the name "Tokhar" ought to belong with better title to "Language II" ordinarily called "Sakian" "Ancient-Khotanian" or "Eastern Iranian."

The third language, an unmistakably Iranian one, left more traces in world history for there were found in this language, in Central Asia, some documents (1st C. A. D.) and literary monuments (7th—9th cc.) Since 1904, the name Saghdian is applied to this language under the influence of the well-known work of the Muslim author Al-Biruni in which two languages of pre-Islamic Turkestan the "Saghdian" and the "Khawarizmian" are mentioned. The language of the newly discovered documents was recognized to be identical with the "Saghdian" of Al-Biruni, although these monuments were found in countries situated considerably

more to the East of Saghdian, proper or the valley of the Zarafshan upto the ruins from Leb-Nor to the Chinese frontier-fortress Tun-huan. In accordance with this, the chief French investigator, the Saghdian language extended from Samarkhand to China. It is possible, however, that it was really the language of Saghdiana and that its wide spread Eastward towards China was connected with the formation of those numerous Soghdian colonies, of which we have information both from Chinese and Muslim sources. In Islamic times, the Soghdian language was supplanted by the language of Persia, and is now existing only in the form of two dialects in the valley of the Yaghnod river, one of the tributaries of Zaraphano. But there is no doubt that long before the Persian language and Islam became predominant, a certain cultural influence was exercised by the Central Asian Iranians, on the peoples living further eastward, more particularly upon Turks, and later through the Turks and Mongols to a certain extent even on China itself.

There is very little doubt about the Saghdian origin of the alphabet of the Uygur-Turks, who in their turn transmitted the written language to the Mongols and the Mongols to the Manchurians. While the literary monuments of three religions, Buddhist, Manichean and Christian, have come down to us in three languages: Saghdi, Turkish and Chinese. Saghdian influence

upon the spread of all these three religions may be considered as proved. Upto our days, in the Turkish and Mongolian languages, the same cultural words of Saghdian origin are still preserved amongst them certain Buddhist terms. There are special books written on the subject of the cultural influence of Central Asian Iranians upon China.

It is remarkable that among the Central Asian discoveries not a single fragment is found having reference to the national religion of Iran, generally called Zoroastrianism, from the name of its founder in its Greek form Zoroaster; the Ancient-Iranian Zarathushtra or, according to Andreas' opinion Zuratushtro. Nor is there any allusion to Mazdaism from the name of the supreme deity Ahura-Mazda, or, in more ancient texts, Mazda-Shura, literally "Holy Lord". This religion to which an Eastern Iranian origin is generally attributed, was the religion of the greatest part of the Saghdian people, and was spreading mostly Westwards. In China itself Zoroastrian temples were erected by some representatives of the Sasanian dynasty, who lived there as refugees, but there was no Zoroastrian propaganda there.

There are many quite contradictory opinions with regard to the importance of Zoroastrianism in world history as well as in the life of the Iranians. According to the opinions of some scholars, ancient Iran was as

little original in the domain of religion as in the domain of material culture. They declare that the tendency of European scholars to "extol the Avesta, the Holy Scriptures of Zoroastrianism to the detriment of the pentateuch is based on" their hatred towards the Semitic races and their pride in their Aryan origin. On the other hand, Edward Meyer, in his last big work, appears as an eloquent panegyrist of Zoroastrianism. According to him, Zoroaster is the first person to leave in the history of religion traces of his creation. Zoroastrianism is the first of the great world religions; in the inscriptions of Darius, as among the first Christians, the proud consciousness of men possessing the truth and fighting falsehood is visible. Sovereigns and the higher classes of the World-Empire were enthusiastic partisans of the true faith and were full of contempt for the foolishness of these nations, who fancied their deities as dwelling in images made by human hands or confined to narrow temples.

With this last opinion, it is most difficult to agree. Only by means of a very artificial interpretation of the inscriptions of Darius is it possible to see in them any signs of fervour for this religion and its propagation. Ahura-Mazda is a great deity in the first instance, because He made Darius a King, the sole King, over many peoples, a supreme sovereign for many peoples. Man is required to be pious, because with

piety is strictly connected the fulfilment of the duties of a loyal subject, impostors and rebels are the chief representatives of falsehood, as opposed to truth. Nothing is said about the penetration of the Persian religion, where it was not known before. The King was proud only of the fact that, the lance of the Persian warriors far away from Persia gained victories in combats. If the god Ahura-Mazda did not exist before Zoroaster, as is suggested by Edw. Meyer, then Darius was a partisan of Zoroastrianism; but that was not the same Zoroastrianism, as became predominant under the Arsacid and Sasanian dynasties. Edw. Meyer passes over in silence the fact that under Darius, there was no religious unity in Iran; the Persian government viewed the representatives of the Median priesthood, the Magi, as their enemies. Darius' victory over the Magian Gaumatox (?) had not only a political, but also a religious, character. This becomes obvious from the words of Darius: "temples destroyed by Magians I restored."

In the history of religious thought, the doctrine connected with the name of Zoroaster has a prominent place. It is founded on a thesis which is absurd from the scientific point of view, but has a great moral value,—namely the dualistic conception of the world—a doctrine about the struggle of good with evil throughout the world and about the necessity for every man

to take part in this struggle. This idea had a great influence later upon several religions, on later Judaism, on the cult of Mithra, on Christianity on Manicheism, and lastly on Islam. But in Zoroastrianism itself, it was soon strangled by lifeless rituals, mechanical repetition of formulas learned by heart. As even Edw. Meyer himself recognises, "the lifeless ritual and formalism" go as far back as to Zoroaster himself, who in this respect is certainly inferior to the great Jewish prophets.

In the course of time, Zoroastrianism was becoming more and more like a heathen cult, and in the epoch of its greatest dominating power, that is under the Sasanian dynasty (3rd to 7th cc.) it did not possess any ethical value, and only after the victory of Islam, it underwent a process of purification, among its few followers, who remained true to the old religion, until it became purely monotheistic.

Still more important than the Iranian religion for the history of the Ancient World was the Iranian polity. The Persian kings of Achemenian origin created the first World Empire in history, comprising several cultured countries and nations. There exist also many contradictory opinions with regard to the importance of this polity for the dependent nations. Certain authorities on the history of the Ancient East and the hi-

story of Greece, considered very often Persians as tyrants, as enemies of culture and freedom, and their empire as combination of despotism and anarchy. The most eloquent exponent of quite the reverse opinion on this occasion again is Edw. Meyer. According to this great German scholar, the Persian state had the first place in world history, by virtue of recognition of the principle of mercy on the conquered and by its ability in introducing in the conquered countries a more regular government than the one previous to their subjugation. (16.11.28). The extreme leniency of Persian kings especially of Cyrus. as compared with the former conquerors has been explained by the influence of his religion. This however, can hardly bear criticism. The Median kings, who destroyed Nineveh razing it to the ground were, it seems, also Zoroastrians. The view has been expressed that Persians were in the East what Romans later became, for the ancient World. But this opinion needs to be qualified. Contrary to the importance of Rome in the history of Italy and Western Europe, the Achaemenian monarchy during its two centuries' existence, did neither give the Iranians any cultural unity, nor any "iranification." to the foreign nations. According to the narrative quoted at the end of Herodotus, the inhabitants of Persia, in the more restricted sense, that is, of the present Fars mostly remained after the formation of the Persian state

in their birth-place and only Persian military detachments and their chiefs were ever sent abroad. Therefore, the Persian domination did not influence either the cultural development of the Eastern Iranians, as compared with these in the West, nor was the ethnographic dissimilarity between the Iranians and their Western neighbours influenced, in any way. The Bactrians and the Saghdians of the epoch of Alexander were beyond comparison inferior to the Medians and the Persians as regards their cultural level: the ethnographic frontier of Iran in the West was just the same in Alexander's time as under Cyrus. It would have been accordingly a mistake to attribute, as was after done, all the relics of the Achoemenian period to the Persian people in its entirety and to consider those relics as a manifestation of Persian national ideals. It is not known whether in the pre-Achemenian epoch any idea of polity did ever exist among the Eastern Iranians, not influenced by the ancient-cultured nations. Judging by the statement of Herodotus (III, 117), it is possible to suppose the existence of a certain state power in Khwarizm; anyhow the state power in Media and Persia was formed under the influence of Assyro-Babylonian traditions quite foreign to Iran, which later subdued by force the original Iranian regions just as the Frank state power, formed in the course of time in Gallia, imposed its domination on Germany.

Here we find an explanation of that complete estrangement, in the period of Achaemenian monarchy, between the state and the people, which is now recognised nearly by all the investigators, amongst them also by Edw. Meyer. With the assistance of foreign artists, the Achaemenians had created their written language and their court arts, the existence of which ended with the existence of the dynasty, without leaving any traces either in the life or in the memory of the people. The grand monuments, which were considered as the incarnation of the Persian idea of a monarch's power, contrary to the Greek ideal of national freedom, were made not by Persian, but foreign artists, including Greeks, in the service of the Persian King. One of them was expressing his joy that he knew how to please King Darius and made in this way illustrious not only himself, but also Samos his native island. Buildings created by the Achaemenids in the very birth place of the Persian people, in Pasargadae and Persepolis, had only a decorative importance; the actual capital of the Persian King was Susa, a city situated outside the limits of ethnographical Iran in the old culture region. Iran kept on living its old life based on the domination of the aristocratic land-owners and submitting very little to the influence of the Babylonian urban culture. In the Eastern parts of Iran of that period, the national epic was in the figurative art and then becoming the

property of the whole nation. It has proved to be more lasting than all that was being implanted by the ruling dynasty.

Like all great empires founded by nations of inferior culture, the empire of the Achemenids had less importance for the people, who created it, than for its more cultured contemporaries. The widening of the geographical and generally intellectual horizons among the representatives of the Greek civilisation, to which the work of Herodotus and his predecessors bears testimony, came as a result of the Persian conquests. When the Macedonian King united Greece under his power, the Greeks succeeded also in wresting from the Persians their political domination: the Greek potentates became "the Great Kings", or "the King of Kings", with this essential difference that since Alexander, the world-lords, or those who considered themselves as such, did not merely remained representatives of God, but actually called themselves gods. This idea borrowed by Alexander from Egypt was brought by him into Iran,* where it remained even after the overthrow of the Greek domination and the consequent accession to the throne of the new Iranian dynasties upto the very time of the victory of Islam.†

* Grundriss, 11, 549.

† A Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides* 110

oc The Iranian state life, as started after the death of Alexander the great,† was also quite different on all other points from the political life in the epoch of the Achemenids. The influence of the Northern-Iranian and the Eastern-Iranian elements became stronger. Still during the life of Alexander another princely dynasty of Iranian origin appeared in Media.§ The first Iranian state, which was strong enough to fight against the Greeks, was formed in 3rd century, B. C., farther eastward, in Parthia.§ And it was founded not by natives, but by foreigners, who came from the neighbouring steppes. Arsak, the founder of the dynasty, was also called a Bactrian.* The population of Iran under the Arsacids increased by other newcomers from Central Asia, the Sakas, by whose name the region of Seistan (properly Sakistan) is nowadays known. Under their influence the Iranian national epic was formed. The most popular episode of that epic of Shah Nameh, the story of the hero Rustom, belongs to these Sakas or Scythians.†

1. yv† Th. Lüdner, Weltgeschichte, 1-161.

§ Th. Noeldeke, aufsatze, zur persischen Geschichte 1887-134.

§ Fr. Velt in Studien zur Vergleich, Literature, geschichte herausg. v. Prof. Dr. M. Koch, vii, 393.

* Ibid, 394

† Turæv o. c. 11, 212.

The Arsacid State had a more national character than that of the Achemenids.† This is proved by a fact previously mentioned that at the end of the 3rd c. B. C. under the term, "Iran",§ only the Arsacid state itself was understood and that this name was no more applied to the regions in the West§ and in the North East, which still remained under Greek supremacy.* The word Iran did not appear on the Arsacid† coins, which were minted only with Greek inscriptions, nearly to the very end of 1st c B. C.,‡ in spite of such a submission to the influence of Greek§ culture: the Arsacid state, with its patriarchal organisation, was nearer to the Iranian traditions than that of the Achemenids.

† Suffice to quote, "West-östlicher Divan" of Goethe (1814-19) Regarding the influence of India and Persia, on German Literature, there can be cited the work by A. F. J. Remy. The influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany, New York 1901.

§ e.g. ZA, xxvii, 264.

§ C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arab. Litt. II 192.

* K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzant., Litt., 2, 622: ff.

† E. Herzfeld, in "Der Islam" xi (1921) 107-174 and my observations in the Journal of the Academy of the History of Material Culture, ii, 371 ff.

‡ Der Islam, xi, 156.

§ e. g. E. Diez, Churasanische Baudeuk, maler, (1918).

The influence of Achemenian traditions was reduced to the accepting of the title of "Great King" or "King of Kings", adopted also by the sovereigns of Greek origin. After Media was annexed, the Arsacids submitted to the influence of Median Zoroastrianism. In that epoch episodes from the life of Zoroaster were transferred to Northern Media, the present Azarbaijjan. In the state council the Magians represented a separate body. The first redaction of Avesta known to us, but lost, belongs to the Arsacid epoch. This work was compiled under the King Vologases, a name mentioned several times among the names of Arsacid Kings. Some of the European scholars refer this fact to the epoch of Vologases I (51-78) others—to Vologases III (148-191) The tradition in the earlier redaction tells us only that all the copies of the Avesta had disappeared as far back as during the reign of Alexander, according to one of the narratives, one of the copies was taken away by the Greeks and translated into Greek.

In proportion to the successes of the Arsacids, in their campaigns against the Seleucids,* Alexander's suc-

* e. g. W. Barthold, "The Persian inscription on the wall of the Manucha-mosque at Ani" (in Russian) 1911, 20 ff. Noteworthy is the fact quoted there regarding the words of a Persian author of the 14th century, who, in order to prove that "even the Seuluq epoch was a period of decline as compared with the Sasanian epoch" substitutes gold for silver coins, without changing the actual figures when calculating the revenues of the Persian king.

cessors in Asia, the capital of the Arsacid State,† was moving farther and farther westward, and the selection of a place‡ for the same was determined solely by the conditions prevailing after Alexander's death § almost without any influence from the Achemenian traditions. The village of Ktesiphon§ opposite Seleucia, the chief Greek city on the Tigris, served as winter quarters, for the Arsacids* in the second half of the 1st c. B. C. Originally, Ktesiphon was merely a military† camp, and in course of time, together with Seleucia and several other military camps, it became a great city.

After the disintegration of Alexander's empire the Western cultured world (if it is possible to unite under such a name, Asia Minor & Europe) was never able to create a world-monarchy. The Iranians, who before the Greeks aimed at world power, could no more attain their former importance, but they could oppose to the Greek and later to the Roman Supremacy, the supremacy of Asian peoples. Such a situation remained without alteration upto the time of the fall

† Enz des Islam II, 12, (un sufhalstamer Ruckgaug) and 42 (mehraals 1000 Jahriger Niedergang.)

‡ ZA xxvi, 254, ff.

§ Herodotus, I, 153.

§ Th. Lindner, Weltgeschichte, I, 223.

* Ibid, II, 98.

† This is at present (1922) pointed out by Herzfeld, Oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne, 198.

of Byzantinon created by the Arsacids, who, having driven away the Seleucids, as far as the Euphrates, arrested the progress of Rome near the same line. Under the Arsacids was also definitely established the paramountcy of an Eastern state over any Western state, with regard to the ability of controlling the routes of the world commerce, so characteristic of mediaeval times. The Arsacids attained the supremacy after the death of Alexander, when their trade with India became more active and when in the 2nd c. B. C. the commercial relations between Asia Minor and China were also established.

More even than the Arsacids, the Sasanians (3rd-7th) who took their place, availed themselves of that supremacy. It was a dynasty, which, like the Achemenids, arose originally in Fars. The last two centuries of the Arsacids' rule were a period of political dissolution for Iran. and this in spite of the fact that Rome was not successful during that epoch even in its desire to annex Mesopotamia. In the Persian tradition, the whole period of Arsacid rule was represented as a period of decay. The restoration of the Iranian polity destroyed by Alexander was attributed to the Sasanids. Their accession to the throne was connected with the re-establishment of the Zoroastrian religion in its ancient effulgence. In reality, the ruin of the Arsacid dynasty was not

connected with such a crisis in the history of Iran, as was that of the Achemenids. Ktesiphon, the capital of the Arsacids, founded in a non-Iranian region, as regards the population, remained also the Sasanian capital. In the Sasanian monuments of the period, when they still were mere rulers of Fars, it is possible to discover some traces of the influence of Achemenian traditions. In the monuments erected by them, even in Fars itself, during the epoch of their world-power, there are no more traces of such an influence. Figures of horsemen, commonly used under the Arsacids, occupy a prominent position amongst the monuments of Sasanian art. The Sasanids maintained the policy of the Arsacids as regards their protection of the national religion and the clergy and also in their attempt to make a collection of the Sacred texts. In their epoch the greatest state sanctuary was still the Fire-Temple in the Median town of Ganzaka,† which was destroyed in 623 by the Emperor Heraclius. The so-called Middle-Persian§ language, in which all the sacred texts were interpreted and different other works, chiefly of a religious character, were written, preserved its name "Pahlavi", i. e. Parthian, even in

† Zapissky, xviii, suppl, 14 (the words of N. Y. Marr).

§ Fihrist, 18, 2.

Islamic times. The opinion of Andreas who considers Middle-Persian to be one of the dialects of South-Western Iran can, therefore, hardly be accepted.

The Sasanian polity like that of the Arsacids, was more Iranian than Achemenian. The Sasanian king called himself "king of the kings of Iran", later on: "king of the kings of Iran and of non-Iran."§ We see in the last formula a fortunate connection of the national idea with the idea of a world-empire. In course of time, the Sasanians came to be regarded in the East as rulers of the world, in the same way as the Roman Emperors* were in Europe, and it is possible, with much greater justification. Victory was always with the Sasanids in any military conflicts. The influence of their state economical, if not political, extended much farther than their apparent scope. The whole trade with India and China, both by land and by sea was altogether in^m their hands. The Sasanids elaborated an efficient state-apparatus, perhaps the most perfect in the history of Asia Minor. Even during the periods of the greatest internal troubles, the state couldⁿ conduct wars crowned with success. We cannot see in the his-

§ About Tripoli (in Syria) BGA, vii, 327, about Aden and Yedda BGA, iji, 96.

* cf. the example quoted by Kremer, The Muslim World, 76.

tory of the Sasanids, as in that of the Achemenids,[†] and especially in the history of the Arsacids, any slow-placed development followed by gradual decay. The empire was founded as if by a "single stroke".[‡] Its downfall was closely preceded by the period of the greatest splendour of the Sasanian empire attained most probably by excessive and overstrained effort.

The last consideration points to the somewhat artificial character of the power of Sasanian§ Iran, and is perhaps calculated to upset the established idea of the Sasanian period, having been the best at all points in the history and in the cultural life of Iran. That epoch in reality only prepared the way for the ultimate civilising§ supremacy of Iran. At that time, the cultural level of Iran, both materially and spiritually was considerably lower than that of Byzantium.* The world-commerce was in the hands of the Persians, but its medium was the Byzan-

† Recueil de textes relatifs a 'l' histoire des Seldjoucides, II, 57, transl. ibid, preface, vii.

‡ The period of the Sasanian rule is being had in view.

§ Tabari II, 1636.

§ Stanley Lane-Poole, Muhamadan Dynasties, 112.

* The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate I, 317 (text) iv, 358—translation Ibn-el-Ather, viii, 226.

tine gold coin. Persia was the country of silver coinage,[†] whilst during the reign of the Achemenids[‡] the Persian kings used to mint gold pieces and the Greeks struck only silver coins. Iran employed Byzantine war-prisoners[§] for building and irrigation works and also for the introduction of new branches of industry.[§]

In the domain of intellectual culture, the first place belongs to the translations from Greek and Indian and also to the works of authors of Semitic (Armaic) origin. The greatest economical importance amongst the lands of the Persian kings belonged to Semitic Babylonia, a province from which one-third of all their revenues was derived. The East-Iranian regions, which partly constituted the border-land of the country, Merv, were situated beyond its boundaries in Bactria. It represented the second cultural centre. The interior districts contained cities without any real importance. The obsolete social hierarchy^{*} was sanctified by the religion. Only three classes, the clergy, the military aristocracy and the landown-

† Stanley Lane-Poole 115. ff.

‡ About Timur, W. Barthold, "Ulughbak and his time" (In Russian) 33-ff.

§ Eclipse etc. iii, 39, vi, 36 (translation.)

§ Stanley Lane-Poole, 209.

* Eclipse, etc. iii, 138 ff. text vi, 143. (translation)

ers, were taken into consideration: the fourth class the merchants, and manufacturers had no privileges, such as were accorded exclusively to the abovementioned classes. The incompatibility of such an organisation with the claims of real life was one of the reasons of such frequent rebellions against the Imperial power and of so many cases of apostacy from the state religion.

The Manichean religion,† which represented an attempt at fusion, between Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity, opposed to the above social organization the ideal of asceticism. The sect of Mazdak, an offspring of the Manichean religion, opposed to its communist ideals. At the end of the 5th c. and at the beginning of the 6th c. the king Kavad‡ hoping evidently to weaken the strength of the clergy and of the aristocracy with the help of the communists stood up for them. After the communistic crisis, the social organisation was restored with the substantial difference that the class of the laic functionaries took possession of the third place by the side of the clergy and the military aristocracy. The

† W. Barthold, "The Islamic Culture" (in Russian) 80.

‡ Travels of Marco Polo, translated (into Russian) by J. P. Minaev, p. 75, cf. Jule, "The book of Ser Marco Polo", II, 592.

landowners became fused with the lower class of the urban population. This alteration clearly shows that the urban population had become stronger, but a more considerable development of the city life took place under Islam.

Christianity was more attractive than Manicheism, and Mazdaism§ to the more moderate social elements. One of the most important events in the history of Christianity was the organisation in 410 in Persia of a separate Church independent of Rome.§ As we have already pointed out in our article on the "Muslim World" - the idea of Christianity became more universal than that of the Roman empire. The Archaeological discoveries in Central Asia have proved that the Persian Christians in the Sasanian* State held the divine service in their mother-tongue. It is, therefore, possible to think that the number of Christian communities was more considerable than it originally was supposed to have been. The exceptional success of Christianity in the Western-frontier† districts of the Sasanian empire from the estuary of

§ W. Barthold, "The Persian inscription on the wall of the mosque at Ani" 18 ff.

§ W. Barthold "The Muslim World" (in Russian) 25.

* e. g. W. Barthold "Islam (in Russian) 45.

† e. g. Gobineau "Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale", 57 ff.

the Euphrates† and Tigris upto Armenia and the Caucasus has been already pointed out. By the time of the Muslim conquest, these districts with the exception of a few Jewish colonies, became purely Christian. The Zoroastrians were as good as "swept away§ from the face of the earth". It is necessary, when trying to estimate this fact, not to forget that the Western borderland, of the Sasanian State was never either Iranian in its population nor Zoroastrian in its religion, although the capital of the Persian kings was situated there at a certain epoch. A still more important fact is that by means of Christian§ propaganda the Sasanian power availed itself of all the commercial routes by land and by sea. Thus is explained the appearance of Christian* communities in India, Central Asia and China.

† e. g. Th. Lyell, "The Ins and outs of Mesopotamia" 1923-39 ff.

§ Stanley Lane-Poole, 97.

§ About the title "king of the Arabs", see. for instance, *Recueil etc. Sedjoudides*, ii, 102 10, 122, 2 with regard to the national character of the battle of 1123, St. Lane-Poole, *Saladin* 37. On the Shi'a creed G. Weil *Geschichte der Chalifeu* iii 242 from Ibn-al-Athir x 439. On Shi'a fanaticism at Hilla, the ancient capital of the Mazyadids. W. Barthold. "A Historico-Geographical sketch of Iran" (in Russian) 133.

* Yaqubi, *Hist*: ii 293. and 363.

How great a share in this propaganda was taken by born Persians along with Armaeans† remains as yet to be proved. Amongst the neophytes in every case, there were Zoroastrians, even Magians, in spite of the hostile feelings towards Christianity displaced by the Sasanian kings, who sometimes stood up against Christianity, not merely in the name of their religion, but even as champions of pagan culture. The victory of Christianity in Byzantium and its rejection by the Sasanids invested for the first time the rivalry of the two world-empires or the so-called "West" & "East"‡ with the character of a religious strife which did not exist before, but which was still maintained afterwards, even when the supremacy of Zoroastrianism in Iran had to cede its place to Islam.

Still less up to this time has the question been elucidated as to the value of the Muslim period in the life of Iran and of the importance of Islamic Iran amongst its contemporary countries in Asia and in Europe. The historians of pre-Islamic§ Iran generally see in the life of Iran, under Islam a picture

† See for it e.g. W. Barthold 'Islam' (in Russian) 55 ff.

‡ F. Rosen in ZDMG 76 (1922) 105.

§ W. Barthold in "The Islamic World" I. 369. (in Russian.)

of a gradual decline of the old culture. Justi,[§] applies to Iran the words of the count M. de Vogue* relative to Syria about Islam, under the influence of which everywhere as under the influence of an elemental disaster the sources of intellectual and moral life are drying up, and human society is thrown out of its course. According to Justi's dictum,[†] the Arabian rulers let their lands fall into decay, persecuted and destroyed their inhabitants with a religious fanaticism peculiar to their race. A. Christensen supposes that with the fall of the Sasanian empire, there was also destroyed the moral and the political strength of the Iranian people. The democratisation brought about by Islam, according to this scholar was especially fatal for Iran. The partisans of Islam were successful where the Mazdakites failed; the aristocratic classes were gradually dissolved into the other classes and all the characteristic aristocratic qualities little by little disappeared.

The opinion that the role of the Persians in the history of the world did not come to an end either with the reign of Darius,[‡] or with that of the

§ This was pointed out by E. G. Browne *Lit. hist. of Persia* I. 437.

* *The Islamic World* in Russian I. 423. ff.

† E. Zachan in SPAW. 1922. 270 and 274.

‡ cf. *"The Islamic World"* (in Russian) I. 240.

Sassanids finds perhaps its most definite expression§ in Lindner's World History. According to him the Persians, "always rising again and again after periods of oppression and attempting to save their national substance, transmitted a great deal of their own spirit to their conquerors whether Greeks, Arabs, Turks,† or Mongols, and then created for themselves, after every period of decay, some new cultural conditions. Several times, they got back their independence after a considerable lapse of time. It is true that their resistance became ultimately exhausted, but not before the original population§ had been modified to such an extent to be almost unrecognisable. Slight as the reasons to hope for it may be, it is, however, still possible that the Persians* are fated to liberate once more their original character from its foreign admixture."

Thus, Lindner's‡ favourable opinion, as well as the contrary negative views, depends upon the

§ The words of C. H. Becker. (ZA. xix 428)

† W. Barthold, "The Muslim World" (in Russian) 48.

§ F. Velt, in Stud zur vergl. Literaturgeschichte vii, 391.

* C. H. Becker, CEF, ii, 16.

‡ M. van Berchem in "Melanges" H. Derenbourg (1909) 378.

preservation of a more or less pure national type. Long ago already a substantial difference in this respect, was noticed between the Greek and the Arab conquests. According to Th. Noeldek's remark, the Hellenic§ influence upon the Persians was quite superficial, whilst the influence of the Arabian religion and customs permeated the whole life of Iran. The question of the consequence of the cultural connection between the two "racial" types remains, however, as much debatable as that of the consequences of the anthropological* commixture. Thus, an opinion has been expressed regarding the Modern-Persian language that it is "a symbol of that fortunate commixture of the Indo-European and the Semitic† elements which took place in the East, during the Abbasiḍ rule." The same scholar speaks about "the gracious mobility of the Semitic spirit"‡ as the chief characteristic not only of the

§ "The Islamic World", I. g. W. Barthold, "The Muslim Culture", 104, (in Russian)

* "Der Islam", iii, 294.

† W. Barthold "The Muslim World", 22, (in Russian)

‡ Grundriss, ii, 371-395, About this edition see above p. 7

Arbian, but also of the Modern-Persian* poetry similar to which, nothing can be found in the Pehlavi literature.

The merits of Modern-Persian† poetry are quite an indisputable fact, which rather upsets the opinion about the Muslim epoch in the history of Iran, as being a period of hopeless deterioration. The literary form of the documents of pre-Islamic Iran,‡ speak "eloquently of the common sense and practical sagacity of the Persian people." The Persians of the Islamic period have created a poetry, which has influenced not only the poetry of other Eastern peoples,§ especially the Turks, but also many of the classical poets of Europe. Neither the European scholars, nor the Persian patriots, who tried to prove that the Arab conquest had brought with it only ruin for their culture, could deny the fact that no valuable literary documents of pre-Islamic Iran have reached us. They could only

* Both these works under a common title "Zur Historischem Topographie von Persien" were published in "Sitzungsberichte" of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, SCW, vols, 102 and 108.

† Die Strassenzüge der Tabula Peutingeriana.

‡ A. Schafer, Abriss der Quellenkunde der griechischen und römischen Geschichte, II, 178.

§ Die Wege durch die persische Wüste.

affirm that such documents had existed but were destroyed by the barbarity of the conquerors.* In reality, in accordance with the light shed on the history of the first centuries† of Islam, the legend so often repeated of an intentional destruction of the documents of pre-Islamic‡ literature by the Arabs is more and more disproved.

What has been said of the poetry can be extended to the other branches of spiritual culture, as well. In prose, the Arabian language was predominant, much longer than in poetry. The use of the Arabic language, for instance, in historical literature was entirely suspended only after the Mongol* invasion. During the Islamic period, Iran produced for the first time an authentic historiography, whilst even the Sasanian empire was content with an imperial epic instead of an official history. The exact sciences such as mathematics,

* L. Berg in "Zemlevedenie" 1911, 80, in Russ. W. Barthold, "Notes on the history of the irrigation in Turkestan" (in Russian.)

† A. H.S. Landore, Across coveted lands, 1092 I. 75.

‡ E. E. Skorniakov in "Asiatic Russia" (In Russ.) II, 240.

* T.P. Ferrier. voyages et aventures en Perse etc. 1870. (Travels in 1845-6) I, 269.

astronomy and others progressed considerably. Scientific works were written first in Arabic, later on in Persian. Persian astronomical† works in the 14th c. were translated into Greek in Byzantium.‡

The same is to be said with regard to arts, especially architecture. During these last years, there had been an attempt, hardly a fortunate one, to establish a close connection as to place and time between the starting point of the Mordén-Persian* language, and its literature on the one hand, and that of Islamic: Iranian art on the other. Far more to the point are the words of the same scholar about the dead forms and "the stagnation of four centuries"† of the Sasanian period as compared with the rapid progress of the variety of Muslim architecture from the beginning of the 11th c.‡ up to the time of its most flourishing period during the 15th c. If the

† W. Barthold, "A Historico-geographical sketch of Iran" 93 (in Russian.)

‡ A. Forbiger *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, II, 533 and 550, the expression "eremos tes karmanias" e.g. in Strabo, 734.

* Translated into Russian by J.P. Minaev, 55.

† W. Barthold in the "Journal of the Russian Academy of the history of material culture". II, 36.

‡ cf. especially the words of Strabo, 517, quoted by Barthold, "A historico-geographical sketch of Iran".

progress of Persian architecture came to its end in the 15th c. as is supposed by several investigators, that might have been connected with the commencement of stagnation in the domain of literature. Other investigators are disposed to recognise that the Safavid period i. e. the edifices of the 17th c. have a certain independent importance.

The question about the material culture is the most difficult to solve. Muslim authors quote figures of the revenues received from the separate districts of Iran, under the Sasanids and under different Muslim governments. It might have been possible, seeing these figures, to draw the conclusion that under Islam, the prosperity of the country, with the exception, perhaps, of some short spaces of time, was diminishing, the same deduction has been made on the base of similar statistical materials about other countries, for instance-Egypt. If, however, material culture can prosper without spiritual culture, it is more difficult to admit the possibility of a progress of spiritual culture, when the material culture is in a state of decay. Moreover, a whole series of records of the creation of great cities in Iran in Islamic times, and of the organisation of a new type of urban settlements with a market place in the centre such a market place was considered under the Achemenids* as a

peculiarity of a Greek city quite unknown to the Persians. The fact that the Arab conquest in Asia, contrary to the Germanic and Slavonic conquests in Europe, contributed to the increase of the number of cities, is recognised as well in literature as in world history, but this phenomenon was considered characteristic solely of the Arab rule and was not extended to the periods of the rule of the Turks, or, especially, that of the Mongols. An opinion has been formulated that from the number of cities, which were destroyed by the Mongols, the greatest part either were not restored, or became pitiful hamlets; that in none of all these cities could either the number of the population or their wealth, or their industrial and commercial importance have been compared with their former magnificence. In reality, the consequences of the Mongol ravages, like those of any other similar military invasions, were not of a long duration, and did not prevent the appearance of several new big cities.

It is necessary to refrain when trying to appreciate the reasons why Iran was in a state of progress during the Islamic period, from taking into consideration, such imponderable factors, as the influence of religion and of racial intermixture. The most simple and evident reason of that progress is the width of the expanse conquered by Muslims "and

the historico-cultural ground of world-relations created by these conquests. For the first time, after Alexander, the North-Eastern regions of the former Achemenian state became again a part of a political union together with the rest of Iran;* the Saghdian land was called "Upper Frow",† between that country and Western Persia more intimate cultural relations than ever before were established. In the West, the Syrian and Egyptian trade was directed towards the East, the Persian merchants availed themselves of that current to found many commercial colonies on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, although these emigrants lost very soon their nationality and language. The cultural unity of the Muslim world not only did not suffer from the political dissolution, which began in the 9th c. but became more intimate. In Iran itself, such obstacles as were impeding the liberty of development like the supremacy of an obsolete religion and the social organisation, sanctified by the same, were abolished.

The right understanding of all these processes is made more difficult for European scholars by the

* Especially "Fihrist", B.3. cf. the controversial proofs adduced by J. Marquart, who bases himself on other texts, ZDMG, 49, 630.

† About these names, J. Marquart in the "Philologues", LV. 235.

fact that they took place in quite different surroundings from those of the history of Europe. It is difficult for a European historian, even for an Orientalist, to think of the progress of culture, especially material, without a corresponding progress in the polity in reality, the Iranian polity of the Islamic period did not represent anything similar to such a grand phenomenon, as the Achaemenian and the Sasanian empires. The Arabs followed in many things pre-Islamic Iran and availed themselves of the services of functionaries of Iranian origin. Well-known are the words attributed to the Caliph Sulaiman (715-717). I admire these Persians; they reigned for one thousand years and never, not for one hour, did they stand in need of us; we ruled for a hundred years and not for one hour could we do without them. In another place, the following words are attributed to a Persian nobleman, who addressed an Arab governor of Khurasan, saying: "We, Persians, have been deriving from this world an income during 400 years, by means of moderation, intelligence and dignified conduct; we had neither eloquent Sacred Scriptures nor any (God)-sent prophet."* The political organisation of the Caliphate was not a reproduction of the Sasanian State, but its further de-

* About the ruins of Zarauj (nowadays, Bina-i-Kay) Yate, Seistan, 1910, 199 f.f.

velopment. When the dissolution of the Caliphate began, there appeared dynasties of Iranian origin; of all these dynasties, however, only to the founder of the Ziyarid dynasty in the 10th c. is attributed the intention of possessing himself of Baghdad and of restoring Ktesiphon as a capital in order to declare himself henceforward "king of kings" (Shah-in-Shah). In the same century, the power of another of them, the Bawahid dynasty, was of longer duration. The most powerful representative of this dynasty Adudu-d-Dowlah Fana-Khusrow (949-983) called himself on his coins as also several other rulers of that dynasty: Shah-in-Shah, he was; very likely, the only Muslim king of Iranian origin, who dreamed of world-power. To him as to Alexander, and later on to Timur, were attributed the words, "all the space of the world is too narrow for two kings". As early as in the 11th c. Iran was conquered in the East by the Seljuq dynasty. Since that time, it nearly always remained under the power of Turkish or Mongol dynasties; the dynasties of Iranian origin governed merely in isolated provinces, one of the most powerful of these dynasties was very likely that of the Muzaffarids in Fars and Kirman in the 11th c. Amongst the isolated Iranian rulers one of the most powerful, Kerim-Khan (1751-1779) came from a

Kurdish tribe, the Zand, who ruled over the whole of Iran with the exception of Khurasan.

Dynasties of Turkish and Mongol origin including the Qajar dynasty, found very often support in the military strength of their tribesmen, but in the civil government, they availed themselves of the services of Iranians; many of them were patrons of literature and science. Some of these dynasties, like the Seljuqs in the 11th c. stood at the head of vast empires into which Iran* entered as a part, but also in this case, it was difficult to establish the connection, common in the history of Europe, between the power of the rulers and the extent of commercial turn-overs of their subjects. According to an observation of the historian, Abu-Shuja, who lived in the most brilliant period of the Seljuq rule, the merchants were in the habit of issuing drafts for huge amounts and these drafts were honoured before drafts made out on the State revenues.† From these words, it is possible to draw the conclusion that for the international trade, there existed a certain apparatus, created by merchants themselves, which did not depend upon political changes. Anyhow the Muslim merchants penetrated into countries which were entirely outside the sphere of influence

* M. Longworth Dames in the E. I. I. 158.

† The History by Mahdi-Khan, Tabriz edition, 115.

of any Muslim government. The trade was, as it seems, chiefly by barter. The political disorganisation could not but produce a depreciation of the coin; it is possible to trace back to the Muslim conquest[†] before the 11th c. the continual deterioration of silver coins, and thus, in the beginning of the 11th c. the influx of Muslim silver coins (dirhams) into Eastern Europe ceased altogether; that silver crisis[§] was gradually spreading from East to West, and ended in the West much earlier than in the East. The gold coins—dinars,[§] were struck with greater care. In the 10th c. in the former Byzantine dominions, the gold currency still remained in force, whereas in the former Sasanian countries, the currency was silver. Iran went back to the gold currency system in the beginning of the 11th c. probably under the influence of the silver crisis. The Muslim dinar, obviously inherited the international importance of the Byzantine gold coin; there exists an opinion that the "besant" of Marco Polo was in reality the dinar. But during the Mongolian period the minting of gold coins was again stopped.

[†] namely in Ibn-Khordadbeh, BGA, vi, texte, 55, 6, trad. 37

[§] E. Hultzsch in ZDMG, 65 (1911) 149.

[§] W. Barthold, A Historico-geographical sketch of Iran, 99, ff.

and they reappeared only in the 18th c. The silver currency was re-established again in all the three Mongolian States, in Iran, Eastern Europe and Turkestan. In the 14th c. a uniform currency system was gradually introduced and the very word "dinar" came to be used as the name of a big silver coin, weighing originally three and in later times two ounces. It is not explained in what degree the development of commercial relations was furthered by that unity of currency; generally speaking, the economical history of the Muslim world, and especially that of Iran, has been very little studied. That, in the domain of financial relations, Europe was under the influence not only of the Muslim world, in general, but also under the influence of Iran in particular is shown by the fact that the word "cheque"* has been borrowed from Persia.

Iran during the whole of the Muslim period, was only once conquered by a non-Muslim people, namely the Mongols, but the conquerors definitely embraced Islam thirty years later, after the death of the founder of the Mongolian state in Persia. At

* cf. in recent times (1900-1,) the Journey of N.A. Zarudny (the Imperial Geographical Society, 38, 1902, 127-170), more in detail in the Proceeding of the geographical Society, on General Geography, 50, (1916, 74, 369.)

the present time, Persia has its own place in the Muslim world, because of all the Muslim countries, only in Persia, the Shia doctrine exists as a State religion—a doctrine according to which only the descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fatima and her husband Ali, are his lawful successors as spiritual guides of the Muslim community. This connection between the Shia creed and the Iranian nationality was very often transferred back into the past by European investigators; they maintained that the Shia creed of Islam, from the very beginning was a Persian form. Such an opinion does not correspond either to history, nor even to the present-day conditions. Even in our days, the Arabs in Mesopotamia are much more fanatical Shias than the Persians; in mediaeval times, we see an instance of the Shia creed being united with Arabian nationalism, in one and the same dynasty, that of the Mazyadids (11th to 12th c. c.) Nevertheless, the connection of the Shia creed with Iran took place as early as in the first centuries of Islam, the well-known legend about the marriage of Husayn, son of Ali and Fatima, with the daughter of the last Sasanian King existed as early as in the 9th c. Besides that dynastic idea, the Shia creed was the religion of the lower classes of the people in some parts of Persia, from a very early period, under the standard of the Shia creed,

many popular movements took place; but only in the beginning of the 16th c. did the Shia creed become definitely the State religion of Persia with the exception of a short interruption in the 18th c.

Of other religious phenomena, the mysticism or sufism was also not created by Iran, but received there its greatest development.* According to the statement of one of its investigators, it is possible to take as a general rule that in Persia all the lyric poetry is permeated with mysticism, all the epic-poetry with nationalism, and the dramatical works with (Shi-a) religious feeling. The connection between Shi-a creed and Sufyism was established later and manifested itself especially in the 16th c. in the period of the establishment in Persia of a Shi-a Government; originally, that connection did not exist and the chief poets-Sufis were Sunnites. The latest religious movements, known under the name of Bahism or Behaism might be understood merely in the light of Sufy doctrines.

The establishment in Persia in the beginning of the 16th c. of a great empire was not only a local phenomenon. More or less at the same time, several other great Muslim powers were established; a strong and stable polity in general constitutes an

* S. Marquart, Eranschahr, 18.

essential distinction between the modern history of Muslim world and that of the Middle Ages. The scholar who was the first to note that distinction pointed out the only possible reason of such a phenomenon, viz, the introduction of fire-arms in Muslim countries under European influence. In that respect, as well as in other things, the Muslim world, was, however unable to maintain itself on an equal level with the progress of culture in general. The political revival of Islam did not prevent cultural stagnancy and regress. The all-powerful and Shia Persia did not bring any new values either to Muslim or to universal culture, while, as research work proceeds in all respects, the merits of mediaeval Iran are becoming more and more appreciated in spite of its political weakness and religious dissensions. The participation of persons of Iranian origin in the creation of scientific literature in the Arabian language, and the influence of the Baghdad-Persian* culture upon the culture of the Western, the African, Islam being more and more appreciated. When a Persian national literature was created, it was not Persians solely, who availed themselves of the same; if the Arabic language had for the Muslim world the same importance as Latin in Europe, the importance of the Persian language may

* S. Marquart, *Eranschahr*, 123. footnote 5.

be compared with that of the French language, or according to the view of modern investigator, Persian can be compared in that respect with both French and Italian. During the epoch of the Mamluks in Egypt, when that country was in no way politically dependant on Persia, Persian terms in the State government were gradually substituted for the Arabic expressions and during the same period, as also earlier, the influence of Persian Art upon Egyptian* art is obvious. Persia, much longer than the other dominions of Islam used to leave upon the Europeans the impression of being a highly cultured country, which in some degree might be compared with Europe.† The opinion of modern science is best of all expressed in the words of Becker that the Muslim East is obliged to the Greeks and the Persians for the best elements of its culture. That

* Hence the discrepancies between the "Map of Persia" ("the ruins of Pasargadas" to the North of the "ruins of Persepolis") and the map of the Persian Monarchy" (Pasargadae to the south of Persepolis, in Brockhaus and Efron's encyclopaedia, the article "Persia."

† The most circumstantial description of the same is Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berl. 1910. On Pasargadae, before that also E. Herzfeld, "Klio" (1908) 1-68. On Persepolis, see also, for example, Th. Noeldeke, in the *Aufsätze zur pers. Geschichte*, 135-149.

in which Muslim science differs from that of the Greeks, and which brings it nearer to the European science of today, viz, a greater attention than before to exact sciences as compared with humanistic sciences,...might be attributed to the influence of India and Iran.

Geography & Ethnography of Iran.

The "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie" contains a short geographical sketch of Iran, composed of (1) Bibliography, (2) an outline of physical geography; (3) an outline of political and economical geography, in the last section. Ancient and modern Iran are examined separately. Mediaeval Iran is left out altogether although the sources give about it more exact information than about ancient Iran. The study of the mediaeval geography of Iran from original sources is possible even in our days, but is more accessible to Arabists than to Iranists, because all the Muslim geographical works, even those compiled by Persians, were in preference written in Arabic. But at present, the number of works of that branch of science is considerable enough. In the bibliography of the "Grundriss" two of the earliest works, consecrated to the historical topography of Persia, are mentioned namely two works by W.

Tomashek, 1883-1885.* At the base of the first of these works† lies an ancient original source—a Roman map of the 2nd c. A.D. preserved in a copy of the 12th c.,‡ but in that work also the details supplied by the Arab geographers have the greater place. The second article deals with the information supplied by the Arab geographers regarding the routes through the Central Iranian desert, which separates the Western cultured regions from the Eastern part of the country, and compares this information with the itineraries of recent travellers.

This attempt, practically the first one in that direction, to compare the mediaeval descriptions of Iran,§ with those of the present day, brought the conviction that there were no real alterations in the physico-geographical conditions since the time of the Arab geographers, and that for the phenomenon

* cf. the maps of that delimitation in Edw. G. Browne, *the Persian Revolution*, 1910, facing page 172, with a description of the two zones of influence.

† A collection of geographical materials relative to Asia, LXV, (Tumansky, from the Caspian Sea to the Strait of Hormuz and back), 1896-1911 (in Russian).

‡ *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 64 ff.

§ The history by Wassaf, lithogr. edit. 170 ff. 175. referred to the work by Imam Said-ad-Din, *Arshad*, which deals with the history of that dynasty.

of the surface changes of the earth, including the process of drying up of the seas, a thousand* years represent a space of time of no account. The possibility of extending that deduction to the earlier period encounters some difficulty† owing to the scarcity of information in the works of ancient authors, and of their still lesser authenticity. In favour of that supposition, are, however, above all, the words of Polybius (X, 28,3) about the existence in Persia even under the Achemenids of subterranean canals conveying water to the field from such a distance that the inhabitants themselves did not know exactly where the source of every canal was to be found. These canals represent still in our days a characteristic peculiarity of Persia, where they are called "kariz". Travellers describe one kind of those common in Persia, especially near big cities, a series of conical heaps‡ with wells in the centre extending from the mountains down to the plains,§ the wells are connected by subterranean galleries. The construction of these canals is necessary on

* Hurmuzji, *Tarikh-i Shiraz*, 1276, (1859-60).

† BGA, iii, 92, u. 96, II.

‡ J. Marquart, *Eranschahr*, 30.

§ Thus, Ibn-Khordadbeh (BGA, vi, 492 text. translation, p. 34) quoted by P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iii, 240.

account of the scarcity of water and the consequent necessity of diminishing the area of evaporation. The existence of such a complicated system requiring for its construction, a great amount of work,* as far back as under the Achemenids, points to the fact that the amount of water in that remote time in Persia was as scarce as nowadays, when, as we see from the account of Ferrier, all along from Kermanshah, the capital of Persian Kurdistan, upto the frontier river Herirud in the East, he had nothing but mere streams to cross.

In such a country as Persia, where the agriculture, in the plains at least, is possible only under the condition of artificial irrigation, the life in the plains is strictly dependent† upon the water supply from the mountains. Therefore, the conditions for increasing the area of irrigation are most favourable in regions in the neighbourhood of snow summits; such conditions exist in the country to the South of the Elburz range and of the volcano Demon end where the Persian capital Tehran is situated at present and where in all times, the most important cities had their seat (in ancient times-Raghae in the midd-

* P.M. Sykes, Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran (1902) 267.

† P.M. Sykes, Two thousand miles in Persia, 1902-306.

le ages-Ray and later Varamin.) The streams are taken for irrigation mostly immediately at the place where they issue from the hills; the interior part of the Iranian tableland, the most distant from the hills represents, therefore, a desert devoid of life. It is becoming more and more narrow in the direction from North to South,* because the hills which divide the Western part of the Iranian tableland extend from the North-West to the South-West.

At the present time, such deserts are called in Persia "kavir." About the etymology of this word different opinions have been expressed. In the geography of the ancients, a big desert called the "Kermanian"† is quite briefly mentioned from the name of the region adjacent to it on the South-West; Marco Polo, the first of European authors, gives a detailed description of that desert. The same desert is also described in detail by the Arab geographers but is called the Khurasanian from the name of a region adjoining it from the North-East; the Arab information about the routes traversing the desert give an exact statement about its extension and its

* BGA, I. 91.

† N.Y. Marr, A definition of the language of the second category in the Achemenian cuneiform inscriptions on the base of the data offered by Japhetic philology (Zapisk., xii, 31-106) in Russian.

importance in the geography of Iran. The division of Iran into Eastern and Western regions is founded on the presence of this desert, the historico-cultural* difference between these two parts is determined moreover by two facts, both a like indubitable though at first they seem to be hardly compatible with each other; by the cultural slackness of Eastern Iran as compared with the Western part of the country, which geographically stands nearer to the aboriginal centre of culture—Mesopotamia and by the development in Eastern Iran, under the influence of its relations with India and with the Far East of a culture independent of Asia Minor, but which later exercised an influence upon the latter regions.†

In ancient times, especially before Alexander, when there were no relations with the Far East, and those with India were much more slack than afterwards, the cultural slowness of Eastern Iran‡ was pre-eminent, and still more remarkable, because of the physico-geographical conditions in the Eastern

* H. Grothe *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der Asiatischen Türkei*, 1909, XCVI, No. 168 and XCVII No. 169

† Materials for the study of the East published by the Russian Foreign Office "confidential" fasc. 2, 1915, suppl. iv, in Russian.

‡ B. Traev, *A history of the Ancient East* II. 214.

regions, which are, generally speaking, more favourable for the development of culture, than those in the West. As a matter of fact, the hill ranges of North Western Afghanistan,* known by the Greeks under the general name of "Paropamisus",† reach in some places the line of eternal snows; farther eastwards, the Hindukush, which forms a watershed between the basins of the Amu-Darya, and the Indus, reaches a still greater altitude. At the present day Afghanistan is in consequence irrigated‡ by rivers, more abounding in water than Persia. The great primitiveness of life in those regions is also shown by the fact that one and the same name, denoted, at the same time, a river, a region, a capital, people. Such words as *Baktros*§ (river) *Baktria* or *Baktriane* (Region), *Baktra* (town) *Baktros*, *Baktrioi* or *Baktrianoï* (people) differ one from the other,

* St. Lane-Poole, *Muhamm. dynasties*, transl, by W. Barthold, 147; a passage has been omitted by mistake in the translation which was noticed by Krymsky (in his *history of Persia*, I, 1909, 12.)

† Mentioned by Marco Polo, see Minaev's translation, 46.

‡ The most powerful dynasty of Kurdish origin was the dynasty of the Ayubids (St. Lane-Poole *Muhamm. dynasties*, the Russian transl. 58 ff.)

§ Noeldeke, *Tabari*, 12 note. I. (Inbegriff aller Unculture) N.Y. Marr in *Zapiski*, xx, 126.

probably merely by their Greek terminations. In our days, to designate the river, the word "ab" (water) (*Bakhab*)* is added to the name of the town Balkh; in the spoken language, that addition was obviously not always made, because it is very often dropped. The ancient name of the *Amu-Darya-Wakhsh* is preserved at present in the name of one of its chief tributaries; a region situated along the river Wakhsh (nowadays the plain of Kurghan Tuba) was called Wakhsha. The conception of Bactrians, as an ethnographical unity, was lost long before Islam. The mediaeval geographers were acquainted with the word "Tokharistan"† (since then grown obsolete) derived from the name of the Tokhar people, i.e. the conquerors of Bactria mentioned by the Greek authors. Under Tokharistan, in the strictest sense of the word was understood a region to the East of Balkh to the South of Amu-Darya, in a wide sense, the region situated on the upper tributaries of the Amu-Darya, along both sides of its chief channel; one Arab historian writes about Balkh as "the city of Tokhar",‡ i. e. obviously of the Tokhars, nevertheless, the representatives of the

* N. Y. Marr, *ibid*, 127 ff.

† D. Frietsch *Levante-Handbuch* 1910 Qt.

‡ Th. Noeldeke, *Aufsätze, zur pers. Geschichte*,

Arab geographical science had no longer any idea about the Tokhars, as a people, nor about the original ethnographical sense of the term "Tokharistan."

The same might be said about the majority of other geographical terms; in the Islamic period, it is impossible to find a recollection to prove that the name of a river or a country had earlier also an ethnographical sense. The river Herirud (*rud* means a river) is the ancient Arya, the same word *Hari* is sometimes used to designate the city of Herat (Harat from the same root) in ancient times in the same manner a people was called "Aryan" (Haraiva). The ancient Hyrcania (*Vehrkana*) was called in the middle ages. Gurgan (in the Arabic transcription Jurjan) the city was called in the same way; nowadays, this name is preserved only to designate the river Gurjan (The Turkoman pronunciation of the word). The word "Parthians"* (*par-thava*) had solely an ethnographical meaning; there was neither a river, nor a town of that name. The Muslims were acquainted with the word "Pahlavi" as a name of the middle-Persian literary language; the name Tahla or Tahlan† (by means of "F" The

* St. Lane-Poole, the Russian translation (not given in the original) 290 ff.

† Grundriss, 1, 2, 346.

Arabs express the sound "P") is mentioned as a geographical term; but this term belongs entirely to ancient Media, not to Parthia. Thus it seems that only the Northern, not the Eastern origin of the term, "Pahlavi," was known to the Arabs. To designate the ancient Parthia is used, as a geographical term the word "Khurasan"—the only remnant, which has been preserved of the division of the Sasanian State according to the four cardinal points in Apahtar (North) Nimrur (South) Harbaran (West) and Khurason (East). The western frontier of Khurasan* has undergone more alterations than that between Parthia and Media. There is no natural frontier because the route from Khurasan westward follows the Southern declivity of the hills to the North of the desert. The mountain pass, called in ancient times, "the Caspian Gates"† and considered as one of the most important strategical points is seldom mentioned in mediaeval military history on account of its small interest. The boundaries of Khurasan in the North-East extended farther than at present, and coincided in the pre-Islamic period with the

* On the activities of that Caliph in Qazwin, see more particularly Yaqut, iv, 89.

† S. Olferiev, (who was in charge of the Russian Consulate at Resht) consular reports, year xi, fasc. I, 60, 77

boundaries of the Sasanian State and under the Omayyads and Abbasids, with the boundaries of the Caliphate. In the latter case, Khurasan in its proper sense, was distinguished from the country situated on the other side of the river (in Arabix Mavar-annahr) i. e. the regions on the other side of the Amu-Darya.*

During the Islamic period the name "South" was used sometimes (Nimruz) to denote the ancient Draygiana, the region along the river Hilmand (*Haetumant* of the Awesta, Hindmaad, Hidmaud and Hirmand in the Middle Ages), the richest as to the volume of water of all the rivers between the basins of the Tigris and the Indus, which takes its source in the eternal snow of the hills. In spite of its abundance, the water of the Hilmand in its delta is almost entirely exhausted for the purposes of irrigation and it forms with other rivers only some small reservoirs very often in a drying-up state. The name "Dryagiana" is of an ethnographical origin; its population is called by the Greeks Dranghas or Saranghas (in the inscriptions of Darius Zaranka), a remnant of this name in the Islamic period was the name of the capital of the district

* N.Y. Marr, *The Talyehs*, 1922, (Proceedings of the Commission for the study of the Ethnographical constitution of the population of Russia 4, in Russian.

Zaranj to the East of the chief channel of the Hilmend. Of course, no information with regard to the ethnographical origin of this name was preserved. Shortly before the beginning of the Christian era, Dranghiana was conquered by the nomadic Sakas and was called by them Sakistan, at present Seistan, (in the Middle Ages Sejistan).^{*} The origin of this name was also lost already in the middle Ages. The ancient times between Dranghiana and India, a region of the name of Arachosia (in the Avesta-*Harachvat*,[†] in the inscriptions of Darius *Harauwatish*) was supposed to exist. The Muslims mention the region Arruhaj or Arruhād solely as a part of Seistan within, which, as in ancient times, within Arachosia, were included the regions up to the Indus in the East and in the South the Northern part of Modern Baluchistan. Arachosia was inhabited by a distinct tribe (the Arachots of the Greeks, the name of the chief river was Arachot probably the Arghandab, the chief tributary of the Hilmend).[‡]

* St. Lane-Poole, *Muhamm. Dynasties*, transl. (is not given in the original) 295 E. A. Pakhomov, *An abridged history of Azarbaijan with an additional chapter on the history of the Shirwaushahs of the xi to xiv centuries*, Baku, 1923, for private circulation only (in Russian.)

† E. G. Browne. *A year amongst the Persians* (1893) 77 ff.

‡ W. Ivanow in *JRAS*, 1923, 10.

Dranghiana and Arachosia bordered upon Arya (there was no natural frontier) and in the same way, as the Northern frontier of Seistan, in the Islamic period, this frontier also was differently defined; but between them and Bactria there was the hilly region of the Paropamisus, the inhabitants of which were known as the Paropamisians or Poropamisads; that region extended also up to the Indus. The Muslim authors speak about the mountain region Ghar from where the Harirud and the Hilمند took their source; the population of this region formed a separate ethnographical unit, and on account of the inaccessibility of their country became subject to Islam somewhat later than its neighbours. In the 12th c.* there arose in Ghor a strong Muslim dynasty, which conquered the neighbouring regions and founded in its native hills a magnificent capital-Firuzkuh† (nowadays supposed to be the ruins of Faiyar on the upper (Hilمند) To the North of Ghor, on the upper Murghab was situated the region Garch or Garehistan (originally from the local Iranian words "gar" a mountain and "garcha"‡ a highlander, hence the modern "galcha" as the natives of Turkestan usually

* B. A. Turaev, a History of the ancient East, 2, ii, 206.

† Ibid, 178.

‡ Iran, Felsreliefs, 189 ff.

call the hill tribes of the upper part of the Zaraf-Shan, the Pamir districts, etc.)

To the East of the basin of the Hilmend, is situated, the last of the interior basins of Iran, the basin of the lake, Ab-i:Istada (literally "stagnant water") on the river Ghazna, which falls into that lake, is situated a city of the same name, which was for some time in the 11th and 12th cc. the capital of a powerful dynasty* which conquered a part of India. In Persian sources the corresponding country bears the name of Zabulistan, thus called obviously from the name of a nation which had disappeared in later times. In the Arabic geographical literature that name is not mentioned. The region of Ghazna in the East and in the North adjoins the basin of the Indus, namely the hill countries of the Western tributaries of this river, i. e. the native country of the Afghan people, mentioned under this name for the first time in the 11th c. but attaining its political importance only in the 18th c.

The Afghans never called themselves by this name, the origin of which is quite unknown. The popular name of the Afghans is Pashtun or Pakhtun, in the plural Pashtana, or Pakh-

* Herzfeld's hypothesis (ibid. 190) regarding the cult of Mithra is in no way proved.

tana. They have been connected with the Paktias of Herodotus, against that the object has been made that the form with *sh* is older than that with *kh* in the present day language. The difference between the Southern dialect (with *sh*) and the Northern (with *kh* in the valley of the Kabul-Darya)* is determined in our days by the alternation of the sounds *sh* and *kh*. The word Afghanistan, as the name of the land of the Afghans,† is mentioned for the first time in the 14th c., but received its present meaning only little by little, according as the Afghans proceeded with their conquests. In the Middle Ages‡ in the boundaries of the present Afghanistan, some independent dynasties had now and then their capitals (Ghazna, Firuzkuh, Herat,);§ in the 16th c. all these regions were divided between the Safavids of Persia, the great Moghuls of India and the Uzbeks§ of Turkestan. A historian of Nadir Shah (1736-1717) already refers to the frontier of the

* Reviewed, for instance, by Praschek in OLZ, 11, (1908) 371, ff. Weissbach in ZDMG, 61 (1907) 722, ff.

† Grundriss, 11, 74.

‡ ZDMG, LXI, 723 ff.

§ Turaev, oc. ii, 83. Besides also the articles by Weissbach regarding the chronology of the inscriptions in OLZ, ii, (1908) 487 ff. ZDMG, 62 (1908) 635 ff.

§ Turaev, 10.

"Kingdoms of Persia and of India", as passing between Qandahar and Ghazna, in a place called Mukur.* Thus the Afghan state as such, has been created solely by certain events of modern history.

As opposed to the term Afghanistan, the term Baluchistan, which appears only in modern history, has only a geographical and ethnographical, but not a political meaning. The Baluchis are a South-Iranian† nation, which gradually moved from the West to the East during the middle Ages and in modern times, the geographers of the 10th c. are chiefly acquainted with the Baluchis to the West of Kerman, between Kerman and Fars, where they lived in the hills. They are always mentioned with another hill-tribe—The Kufichi (in Arabic-Kufs)? information exists, however, about Baluchis, who lived on the North Western frontier of the present Baluchistan.

* As, for instance, Y. Menant, *Les Achéménides*, 1872, 106–118. The chronology, however, resulted in controversies even in later times, c. f. T. V. Prasek, *Gesch. der Meder und perser*, 1910, ii. 31 ff.

† See: Iran, *Felsreliefs*, 36 ff. 251, ff. F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am grabe des Darius Hystaspis*, Lpz. 1911 (*Abh. Phil. hist. Kl. der Kon Sachs, ges. der Wiss.* xxix, Ns) 44 ff.

In course of time, a great number of the Baluchis emigrated to the East and gave their name to all the land inhabited by them, although nowadays the Brahins, a people of Dravidian origin (all the pre-Aryan aborigines of India are Dravidians) are living side by-side with the Baluchis. The Brahins lived in the 10th c. in the North-Western part of Baluchistan* near the city of Kandahil (at present Gandava) they occupy in our days the whole of the central part, with Kelat† as capital, and form a kind of wedge between the two branches of the Baluchis—the North-Eastern and the South-Western divisions. As the capital was in their possession, the Brahins, until British influence in that country, was definitely established, were the domineering people in this region:‡ but nowadays they seem to be less attached to their nationality and their mother-tongue than the

* To the beginning of the 16th century, belongs the inscription of the Uzbek Khan Shaybani in the Bolor Pass on the road from Kelat to Meshed. (C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 1900, 15) to the 15th and the 16th cc. The well-known inscriptions in the Yizak Pass in Turkestan.

† Zapiski, xxii, 258 ff.

‡ *Iran Fels*, 191, Ferbiger, *Hand. der alt. geographie*, ii 593, According to Edw. Meyer *Geschichte des alterthums*, 617) the source of Diodorus would be klytarches.

rest of the population and the unavoidable 'disappearance of the Brahni language is considered to be merely a question of time.* The region to the South of Dranghiana and Arakhasia, down to the sea was called in ancient times Gedrasia, in the middle Ages-Mekran. The first name was, obviously, given to this region, from its Iranian population and the second from its Dravidian† inhabitanst.

The climatic conditions were always more or less the same as nowadays. In spite of its maritime situation, Mekran is almost never subjected to the influence of sea breezes and has a very dry climate. There are hardly any rivers having a supply of water all through the year. The population was always composed of Iranian,‡ Dravidian and Indian elements. In modern times, Mekran was politically a part of India upto 1621, when it was conquered by the Persians. The frontier between Persia and Afghanistan was recently revised twice by the British, first by the commision of Goldsmith §

* E. Herzfeld, in *Der Islam*, xii, 136.

† Thus according to Herzfeld, *Iran Felsreliefs*, 283 (*Fuss des Passes*).

‡ Regarding that place, besides Herzfeld, also W. Minorsky in the *Materials for the study of the East*, fasc. 2. P. 189 (in Russian)

§ *Der Islam*, xi, 155, there also about the inscriptions and four royal busts.

(1872-73). Geographically, however, the land between the Southern limits of Seistan and the Sea may be hardly considered, even nowadays, as sufficiently explored.* Only one port in Mekran is mentioned in the middle Ages,† viz., Fiz. The ruins of its fortress are preserved up till now in the vicinity of the port of Chahbar,‡ which is, however, on Persian territory. Even in our days, Chahbar is considered to be the best part of Mekran and was destined to become the head of the Trans-Iranian railway, which Russia§ had the intention to construct at some time.

The history of the Iranian lands, situated to the West of the great desert, is determined in ancient times, by the difference between North and South, between Medians and Persians.¶ This distinction

* APAW, 1914. phil. hist. Kl. Nl. "Die Aufnahme des Sasanidischen Denkmals Von Paikuli" From Rawlinson's reproduction, the inscription was published in JRAS, 1868, (New Series, iii) 278-300 the article by Thomas, Sasanian Inscriptions.

† Der Islam, xi, 117 ff.

‡ The images are enumerated in the Grundriss, ii. 519.

§ Iran. Fesreliefs, 7 ff. 61 ff. Der Islam xi, 130 ff. Denkmal von Paikuli, 21 About the same monuments also W. Minorsky in Zapiski, xxiv, 174-182.

¶ His work constitutes the third volume in the series corpus script. hist. Bysantinae.

has nothing in common with the climatic conditions mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature as the "cold" regions where wheat is cultivated and the "hot" regions where date-palms can grow and bear fruit. It is impossible to trace a dividing line between these climatically different regions, because the climatic conditions are influenced, not only by the geographical* latitude, but also by the elevation of the different parts of the region. The ethnographical, or, later, when the ethnographical distinction had disappeared, the administrative† demarcation-line, between the Southern and the Northern regions was always considerably more to the North, than the climatic one, and in ancient times, still more to the North than in the Middle ages. The district of Ispahan, which never belonged to Fars in the middle‡ Ages, entered into the composition of Persia proper in ancient times.

It is possible to establish, as a general rule, that the South had more importance in the political history of Iran, the North§- in its cultural history.

* Agathias, iv, 30. † Grundriss, ii, 141.

‡ The etymology in Tabari, i, 171, 14.

§ The addition to the king's name of his title in such an ancient form already unintelligible to Muhammadans clearly showed that the codex of traditions has reached the Muslim Persians in a fixed shape as transmitted to them by their ancestors.

We saw that the Median form of Zoroastrianism gradually became the state religion of Iran.* But the political power of the Median kings was less durable and stable, for although they destroyed the Assyrian realm at the end of the 7th century B. C. Some 50 years later, they had to cede their supremacy to the Achaemenian dynasty, which issued from Fars. The polity, as well in Media as in Persia, was formed under the influence of the Western neighbours of Iran. It is characteristic that the Eastern capital of Media, Raghæ (Ray of the Middle Ages, at present—ruins to the south-east of Tehran) closely connected with the name of Zoroaster, had almost no political importance at all, whilst, Hāmatana,† the western capital, constructed by the Median kings, the Agbatana or Ekbatana of the Greeks, Hamastan, is not mentioned in the Avesta‡ and had no religious importance. The name Media

* Grundriss, II, 131.

† Grundriss, II, 487 & 546: reproduced in the book by F. Justi, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Völker in Altertum* 1884, 493: The Arabs compared that banner to a travelling bag attached to a stick (Tabari, I, 207) There exists information about that banner having been burnt by Omār (the Persian Tabari, Cawnpore edition, 46, Zotenberg's translation, I, 119.)

‡ Agathias, II, 26.

(in Iranian *Mada*) ceased to exist long before the appearance of Islam. The mediaeval term Man is considered to be the modification of the same, but it was applied only to one of the Western districts of ancient Media, from the Hulwan Pass down to the environs of Hamadtan.*

The region Jital, literally "hills" corresponds to ancient Media, more than any other of the regions mentioned by the Arab geographers. By its name, it corresponds to the ancient Paretakene as were called also the hill regions of Afghanistan and Turkestan (from *pouruta* Sansk. *parvata* "hills"). But the Greeks understood, under Paretakene only, the Northern part of Fars, which sometimes was considered as belonging to Media, and the Arabs understood under the name Yibal† (in Persian "Kuhistan" as was also called a region to the East of the desert in the South-Western corner of Khorasan) almost the whole of Media. In course of time, when in the Muslim period, Ray and Ispahan became great cities, which were very little inferior to the cities of Babylonia, as regards their size, wealth and cultural importance, Jibal was considered as a second "Iraq" (the Arabic designation of Babylonia) and, in order to distinguish it from the

* Ibid, IV, 24 ff.

† cf. my article in the Zapiski, xxii, 267 ff.

original or Arabic Iraq, it was called (from the 12th c. onwards) Iraq of Persia (Iraq-i : Ajam.)

Since the time of Alexander, the northern part of ancient Media constituted a separate district and a Median, named Atropat, was appointed its governor, but after the death of Alexander, he became an independent ruler and was able to transmit the power to his descendants. From his name, the district over which he held sway began to be called-Atropatene amongst the Greeks, Atrpatakan in Armenian-at present Azarbaijan. The origin of this name was early forgotten and thus already the Muslim authors were not aware of its origin. Later on, both during the pre-Islamic period and under Islam, Azarbaijan* occupied quite a special place in the history of Persia. All the narratives of the life of Zoroaster are connected with Azarbaijan. In Ganzoka, the capital of pre-Islamic Azarbaijan (nowadays the ruins of Takht-i-Sklaiman to the south of laue Urmiah) was the chief Zoroastrian temple. The Iranian dialect of Azarbaijan (Azari)† is mentioned as a special language obviously a literary one, there exists an opinion that in this language was composed the most ancient commentary on the Awesta. Since the 11th c. the Turks, who

* ZA, xxvi, 263 ff. Zapiscki, xxii, 273.

† Zapiscki, xxii, 270.

came from Central Asia with the dynasty of the Seljuqs, began to settle in Azarbaijan, and in this way, gradually that district became quite Turkish. After the Mongol invasion, Tabriz, a city, which arose under Islam, became one of the most populous amongst the cities of Iran. The Azarbaijan Turks gave several dynasties to Persia, amongst others the Safavi dynasty by whom the Shia Persia of today was built up (the ruling dynasty of the Qajars is also of Turkish origin). In the 20th c. the chief workers of the Persian revolution issued from Azarbaijan. The Turkish language of Azarbaijan became the chief language of the Muslims of Transcaucasia and, hence, after the revolution of 1917, there appeared in Russian territory an Azarbaijan republic, although the original Azarbaijan did not enter into its composition and still remains the same Persian province, as before.

The motherland of the Persian nation—Fars, still bears up to our days, the name of this nation (Parsa, the Arabic *f* represents the sound *p*, which does not exist in the Arabic written language.) Under the influence* of the written language, that

* The name of the translator is given in Zotenberg's translation (I, 2) but is not found in the Ms. of the British Museum. Add. 7622, (Rieu, Pers. Man. 68 ff.) where it is said instead, that the Samanid Amir Mansur transmitted his orders for the translation to be made through his courtier Faiq (about him see my book "Turkistan at the time of the Mongol Invasion", ii, 262. ff.)

Arabic form passed over into the spoken language, generally even without the addition of the suffix *istan*.* The form "Farsistan" one can see on maps is almost never used either in the colloquial language or in literature. The Southern part of Fars belongs to the basin of the Indian Ocean. In history the Northern regions, that is those belonging to the Iranian internal basins, had always a greater importance viz. those of the basin of the lake Bakh-tegan, where the ruins of two ancient capitals Pasargadae and Persepolis,† are situated, and those of the basin of the late Mahatu,‡ where Shiraz, the present capital of Fars, is situated, which arose under the Arabs, in the beginning of the 8th c.

The Persians were divided into several tribes, like other Iranian nations. The tribe, from which Cyrus and the other rulers of the Achemenian dynasty were issued, was called Pasargadae,§ the city which contained the palace and the tomb of Cyrus, bore the same name. The exact situation

* Zotenberg, I, 267 ff. Cawnpore edit. 122.

† Zotenberg, II, 152, Cawnpore edit. 314 ff.

‡ This passage corresponds in the Arabic original to iii, 2273, where it is not said that what follows does not belong to Tabari himself.

§ "Vostechnya Zametki", 190, (the article by Baron V. Rosen.)

of the site of that city is doubtful. It has been concluded on the authority of several well-known sources, that Pasargadae was situated more to the south than the city of Darius and his successors, which was called by the Greeks, "Persepolis",* but at the present day, it is possible to consider, as proved that the ruins on the northern part of the valley of the Pulwar (or Murghab)† river are the remnants of the city of Cyrus, whilst the ruins of Persepolis are in the southern part of the same valley. These ruins, particularly those of Persepolis,‡ are without any doubt whatever, the grandest monuments of the historical past of Persia, preserved on the surface of the earth, and it is, therefore, that both popular tradition and European investigators§ have attached to them such great importance. There is, however, no reason to suppose that any capital, in our sense of the word, that is a centre of administrative and cultural life, ever existed on the site of these ruins. Achaemenian buildings and

* Grundriss, II, 355.

† E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge, 1920, 62-104.

‡ *A Literary History of Persia*, I (1902) 368 ff.

§ *A History of India as told by its own historians*, 1867-1877.

bas-reliefs,* as well as Achemenian tombs were nothing more than a tribute of esteem to their original native country and had, therefore, a merely decorative character. The kings themselves lived in Susa, where they received foreign envoys, amongst others Greeks. It is characteristic that the Greeks, before Alexander obviously did not know anything about even the existence of Persepolis. In the Sassanian epoch also, in spite of the existence of these buildings and bas-reliefs† by the side of those of the Achemenian period and of their buildings in other cities of Fars-Ktesiphon on the Tigris, was the only capital of the State. Muslim Shiraz had a somewhat greater importance in the life of Persia. Two rulers who held under their sway the greater part of Persia, if not the whole land—Adud-ad

* Ch. Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, 1879–1883, for it—"supplement 1895.

† "Studies in Oriental Knowledge" (in Russian) published by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, fasc. xvi, The last edition of volume I appeared in 1909–1914, vol. iii. in 1914–1917, instead of a 2nd volume only "preliminary editions", or "preparatory materials" have appeared (its 3rd edition—was published in 1912) A new edition in Ukrainian with considerable addition has been undertaken at present, the first part (9th to 10th century) appeared in 1923,

Dowlah in the 10th c. and Karim-Khan* in the 18th c. made Shiraz their capital (Shiraz of our days is chiefly a creation of Karim Khan). After the Mongol invasion, Shiraz, which has not suffered from the Mongol devastations, became for some time the principal centre of Persian culture. The cities of Fars and of the Southern provinces in general, are much inferior to the Northern cities as regards their commercial importance and the number of their inhabitants. That is why certain British politicians considered the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907, by which Northern Persia became a sphere of exclusively Russian influence, as unprofitable for Great Britain.

The coast of the Persian Gulf, including the Strait of Hormuz, had more importance in the life of Persia than that of the Indian Ocean. It possessed several sea ports, which had a considerable importance for the sea-trade with India and China, but the supremacy passed over from one seaport to another; for various reasons, of the two seaports of our days Bender-Abbas arose only in the 17th c.† and

† cf. also the section "History" in the bibliography appended to the "Abridged grammar of the Modern Persian Language" by C. Zalemann, and V. Zhukovsky, 1890 (in Russ.)

* Zapiski, xxii, 278-ff. Grundriss, II, 143-152.

Bushire- in the 18th c. From the beginning of the 16th c. upto the year 1622 the Island Hormuz,* which in that time belonged to the Portuguese, was the chief commercial centre. Its fortress, constructed by the Portuguese is, according to one of the more recent Russian travellers, "one of the greatest monuments of antiquity in Persia, after the palace of Darius in Persepolis." The monuments of the remotest past are preserved in the islands of Kharag,† which, for some time, belonged to the Dutch and Kais, or Kish, which was one of the principal centres of the sea-trade in the Middle ages,‡ and possessed for a period of 300 years (10th to 13th c.) a ruling dynasty of its own. In those times, a wealthy city was standing on that island. It was under the power of the rulers of Fars, in the 13th & 14th cc.§ Later on it was abandoned by its inhabitants. The cause and the time of this event are not established, even by the author of the history of Shiraz,§ compiled in the 19th century. Generally speaking, it is not explained up to our days, for what reason,

* Grundriss, ii, 149.

† Words of Th. Noeldeke, quoted in the Zäpisski, xxii, 257.

‡ A Literary History of Persia, I, 111.

§ Ibn el Athir, ix, 261.

§ Grundriss, II, 239.

the supremacy in the sea-trade, in the Persian gulf and the Indian Ocean,* passed from the Persians to the Arabs, after the Mongolian invasion, whilst in the 10th century, even the seaport Sakhar, in Arabia, was in the hands of the Persians.† In more modern times, even Persian towns on the coast, like Bunder-Abbas and Chahbar, often passed into the power of the Arabs and only in the reign of Nasir-ed-Din Shah‡ (1848-1896) was the power of the Shah of Persia re-established in those parts.

The present Kirman, mentioned as a separate district for the first time, in the documents relative to the campaign of Alexander (Karmania) was originally a part of Persia proper. It is supposed that to that district refer the words of the Behistan

* Izvestia, 1921, 55.

† About the work of Sallami see my "Turkestan". II, ii. regarding the name, a correction in Orient. Studien Th. Noeldeke gewidmet, 1906-I, 174, note, 2. Mention is also made (Yaqut, Irshadu-l-Arib. edited by Margoliouth, 140) the continuator of Sallami's work who, it seems, also wrote in Arabic, About-Hosea Muhommad C. Sulayman C. Muhammad.

‡ W. Barthold, Turkestan, II, 22 & 520. Ibidem (I, 1-18) passages from the text by Gardizi,

inscription of Darius, 'regarding the land *Yutiya** in Persia, where the pretender Vah-Yazdata was successful and the population of which were the *Utiai* of Herodotus† (iii-93), belonging together with the inhabitants of *Mekran Dranghiana* etc. to the 14th Satrapy and that the exclusion of that district from Persia proper (which did not pay any taxes) and the inclusion in a tax-paying region was meant as a punishment for that rebellion. It is perhaps, more likely that *Godrosia*‡ and *Kirman* were inhabited by the Persian tribes, called Herodotus (i-125), *Derusioi* and *Germanioi*. The northern districts of Kerman were quite different from its southern part, like those of *Fars*; as regards their climatic conditions, the life was generally concentrated, and remains thus even in our days, in the Northern districts, now and then, the mediaeval capital of Southern Kerman *Yiruft* (*Kamady* of Marco Polo, so called after the name of its commercial suburb *Kamadin*) was considered as the biggest city in the whole district. Now, on its former site, heaps of old

* cf. Marquart's (*Osteurop.*) und. ostasiat, Streifzuge, 1903-31) expression "wimmelt von. Uebersetzungsfehlerk".

† Text and Russian translation of the chapter on Turks in my "Report on a journey to central Asia."

‡ Zapiiski, x, 121-137.

bricks and fragments of broken vessels, may still be seen. The litoral of Kerman, and particularly the district Kashagird, to the East of the route from Yiruft towards the sea, even upto our days, is less influenced by culture, than the rest of the district.* That land was inhabited in the Middle Ages by the Kufichis (in Arabic Kufs) a nation of obviously Dravidian origin. Europeans were very little acquainted with this land from the geographical point of view, upto the second half of the 19th. c.† Even on modern maps, the small river Hatil (Divrud of the Middle Ages) on which Yiruft is situated after having joined the Bampur,‡ which flows from Baluchistan, falls into the Indian Ocean. In reality, however, those rivers fall into the marsh-lake Zaz-Morian,§ which is marked on the map annexed to Tomashek's article, although the size of that lake on Tomashek's map is smaller than it is in reality. The land to the south of the lake is left on the same map, quite empty. P. M. Sykes§ calls himself

* Reynolds, The Kitabi Yamini, 1858

† W. Barthold, Turkistan, II, 20 ff.

‡ On the existing editions see W. Barthold, Turkistan II, 23 ff. and 521.

§ A. Biberstein-Kazimirski, Menontchehri, Poete persan du II^eme siecle, 1887. 17-13.

§ About him W. Barthold, "Muslim World" (in Russian) 59.

the first European who visited (in 1898) the village Ramishk) situated there. In the Middle Ages, Kerman existed at times as an independent state, and then was governed by its own separate dynasty, but it had no influence upon the political life of the other districts of Iran.

Khuzistan, a borderland of Iran, situated to the West of Fars, was never entirely Iranian, as regards its population. The ancient capital of that district was called by the Greeks Suza (properly Susi), in Arabic Sus. The Greek name of its population was Uziai, in the inscriptions of Darius Kuvaja, hence in later time, *Khuz*, the (the sound *kh* takes the place of the initial *s* in foreign words, see above p. 5). Khuzistan, even before the Persians submitted to the influence of Babylonian culture and accepted the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform writing, the kings, who ruled there have left inscriptions in a language, which was neither Semitic* nor Aryan. The same language as it is seen in the inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius and their successors,† in its modern dialect, was one of the three literary languages of the Achemenian monarchy, and occupied the second place—after the Persian language, but before the Babylonian. It seems, it can be explained by

* Baihaki, ed, by Morley, 837.

† W. Barthold. *Turkistan*, II, 289–394.

the fact that Khuzistan* was the first cultured region, conquered by the Persians, before their victory over the Medians. No inscriptions are to be found in this language from the period following upon Alexander: but the Khuzian language, which was neither Hebrew, nor Syriac,† nor Persian, existed as a colloquial language, as late as the Muslim period in the 10th c. Although there were no people using solely this language, everybody spoke also Persian and Arabic. The language of the second system of the Achemenians§ inscriptions belongs to the so-called "Japhetic" group, and is closely related to the Caucasian languages. Amidst the types of the population, there are preserved up to our days, not only the Semitic and the Iranian types, but also the Ancient-Elamite (Elam is the Semitic name for Khuzistan) and Dravidian. The Greeks understood under the name Uxiai only robbers-highlanders of the Eastern border land of Khuzistan, but it is obviously the same word, as the Iranian Khuz, in the Arabic plural, Ahwaz. Thus (originally Suq-al-Ahmaz, i. e. the market or the Khuzians") was

* Alberuni, *Chronologie*, ed. by Sachau the introduction.

† The talk about the history of Khawarizm Yaqt, *Irshad*, ed. by Margoliouth, vi. 311)

‡ Baihaki, ed. by Morley. 317, W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, II, 22.

the name of the city on the river Karun (at present a tributary of the Shatt-al-Arab, the joint estuary of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in earlier times, the Karun* discharged itself independently into the Persian gulf), which was in the 10th century, the chief town of the whole district. Tuster or Shushter, situated on the same river, was the biggest city of Khuzistan† in the 13th century, as well as it is now a-days.

At present Khuzistan,‡ or at least its plains, continuous with the Persian gulf, is more often designated by the name of Arabistan. The Arabs, who settled there, were mostly Bedouins. They contributed a great deal to the decay of its culture, which was, in a flourishing state during the Sasa-

* W. Barthold, *Islam* 1918, 52.

† *Turkestan*, II, 238, cf. the explanation of the word "Khwaja" as a Khurrasani expression (in the sense of a polite form of speech when addressing an old man) in Mas'udī, *Prairies d'or*, ix, 24.

‡ "The Muslim World" 57. At present published and translated into English are not only both volumes of Ibn-Miskawayh, which has for us all the importance of an original source. (on account of his source Thabit. E. Sinan being lost) but also the work of his continuator Abu-Shuja, under the common title, "The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, Oxford, 1920-1)

nion period, and in the first centuries of Islam,* when the sugar cane was cultivated there, a highly developed textile manufacture existed in the cities and there were Universities with rich libraries. In the political life of Iran, Khuzistan† did not play any important role, after the Achemenian period. Even in Suza, the Achemenian capital, there are no traces on the surface of the earth of any buildings, and thus, the actual capital of the Persian kings contrarily to the decorative capital Persepolis‡ was altogether forgotten in popular tradition. In modern times, Suza became the chief centre of archaeological excavations of the French, who obtained from the Persian Government, according to the treaties of 1895 and 1900 an exclusive and perpetual right (*droit exclusif et perpetual*) to undertake excavations on the whole length and breadth of Persia. The object of these excavations was not so much a further investigation of the Achemenian monuments discovered before (amongst them the palaces of Darius and Artaxerxes II) as a hope of new discoveries in the domain of the most ancient culture of Hittite Asia.

* Eclipse, etc. III, 32, (text) vi, 51 (translation).

† Noeldeke in ZDMG, XLVI, 707, (?)

‡ W. Barthold, Turkistan, 249 & 328.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic* highlanders in the districts, along the former (upto 1918) frontier between Turkey and Persia were originally, it would seem, of non-Iranian extraction. Those highlanders spoke an Iranian† tongue already in the Islamic period, and were known to the Arabs by the general name "Kurd", plur. "krad". From the linguistic point of view, the present-day highlanders, who live exclusively on the Persian territory and call themselves Lurs and Bakhtiars,§ are those old Kurds. The Lurs are mentioned in the middle Ages. Their district Luristan was governed from time to time by independent dynasties. The dynasty of the Hazaraspids (12th-14th cc.) subjected to its power also several neighbouring regions. The word "Bakhtiar" was not known in the Middle Ages,§ and it is not certain when it was mentioned for the first time. The Bakhtiars occupy the most Eastern part of the hill-district, which used to be

* W. Barthold "Turkistan" II, 28 ff.

† "The Muslim World", h54.

§ Moh. Nerchakhi, Description topographique et historique de Boukhara. publ. par ch. Schefer, 1892, Reviewed by W. Barthold in the Zapiski, ix, 313-316.

§ Muh. Narshakhi, A History of Bukhara, translated from Persian by N. Lykeshin, Tashkent, 1897. Reviewed by N. Vesselevsky in the Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction of Russia, 1897, December 416-468.

called in the Middle Ages, the "Great Lur". The popular name "Shul",* which has now disappeared, is also mentioned in the Middle Ages.; from that name a part of the hill-regions, which was one of the border districts of Fars, was called Shulistan. The land of the Kurds, in the proper sense of the word, is called Kurdistān, a distinction is made between the Turkish Kurdistan, with its capital Diarbekr,† and the Persian Kurdistan, with its chief town Kerman-shah. A small number of Kurds live on Russian territory, but the bulk of them remain in Turkey. Diverse rulers formed very often military detachments, consisting of Kurds, and of other warlike nomads.§ The chiefs of these detachments§ attained sometimes a certain political

* cf. my article "Bukhara", in E. I. I, 815.

† By V. L. Viatkin in the "Yearbook of the Samar-kand province" (in Russian) fasc. viii, (1906) Reviewed by W. Barthold in the *Zapiski*, xviii, 0182, 0-189, where particulars are given regarding the component parts of the version that has reached us.

§ About him—Ch. Rieu, *Pers. Man.* p. 239.

§ At present, published from the only extant Ms. in the Gibb. Memorial series, New Series, II, Muhammed ibn Ali-ibn-Sulayman ar-Rawandī: *The Rahat-us sudur wa. Ayat us-Surur*, edited by Muhammad Iqbal, 1921, Detailed particulars regarding the author and his works are given in the preface.

power, and founded dynasties.* But as a nation, the Kurds had no political life. Authors of Kurdish origin wrote very seldom in their own language, in the literature of other languages. The Kurds were spoken of as an "incarnation of everything opposed to culture."† The merits of the Kurdish national poetry have been, however, mentioned with appreciation§ and the hope has been expressed that in proportion to the progress of settled life, among the Kurds,§ their undeniable innate talents would find a better opportunity for development than before.

There remain to be mentioned the regions situated on the southern coast of the Caspian sea, which differ considerably from the other districts of Iran, both by their climatic conditions|| instead

* cf. my "Turkiestan" II, 30 ff.

† About it see E. G. Browne's articles in the JRAS, 1911--411--446 and 661--704 m. 1917, 676.

§ Regarding one of these copies see E. G. Browne in the JRAS, 1917, 676, two other copies are found in the British Museum, or, 3601 and 7962. It is noteworthy that the first of these copies was acquired as early as 1833, nevertheless, it did not enter the supplement to Rieu's Arabic Catalogue published in 1894.

§ Barthold, Turkestan, II, 32.

|| E. D. Ross in "A Volume, of Orient" Studies presented to E. G. Browne, 1922, 392--413.

of the scarcity of water experienced elsewhere, there is an excess of humidity, and by the type of their population and the garments worn by them. Besides, the mountain-ranges, which occupy the Northern border of the Iranian tableland, the access to these regions has always been difficult on account of the dense forests,* in which this part of Persia abounds. A roadway was constructed over the hills, from the South only in the 17th century, under Shah Abbas, which made the Caspian districts accessible in every season. The road was not kept in order after that, but after Shah Abbas,† nevertheless, we do not see any more of that political separateness, of the Caspian districts, which existed before his time. The access from the East§ was always less difficult, although that route was also obstructed by woods, but from the East, the successful movement of conquerors, always place both in ancient times and in the Middle Ages. The Caspian regions did not belong to Iran, either politically or ethnographically until the time of Alexander. The Tapurs, the

* Rahat-us-Sudur, pref. p. xxix.

† In Paris, Ancien Fonds, Persan, No. 62-- E. Blochet, Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la. Bibi. Nationale, No. 245, (I, 194--196)

§ Bar. V. R. Rosen in the "Vostochniya Zametki" (1895) 171--188.

Western neighbours, of the Hyrcanians, were probably, non-Iranian. From the name of that people, the presentday Mazanderan* was called, Tapuristan, even when its inhabitants spoke already an Iranian language. Such a designation of that district can be found in coins, even on those struck as late as under Islam. In the Arabic geographical† literature, the same name, nevertheless, was written and pronounced as Tabristan, and was derived from the dialectic word "tabar" a mountain.‡ The origin of the word "Mazanderan" is not so easy to understand, obviously it was inherited from the pre-Islamic period. It is mentioned in Persian poetry as early as the 11th c. (in Firdausi) in the Arabic, written language, even Yaquit,§ who wrote after 1220, never

* About it (together with a bibliographical list) my "Turkistan", II, 38, to that list can be added the article by Quatremere in the J As. 1839, (3,vii. 246--285)

† See my article "To the question of Early Persian Poetry" (Bull. of the school of Orient Studies II, 836--838)

‡ Namely the anthology of Dawlatshah (15th c. and Awfi,) (13th century cf. Grundriss, II, 213) in all three volumes, and the work by Farid-ud-Din Attar, 13th c.) on mystics, two volumes, (ibid. 286 ff.)

§ About it, (together with a bibliographical list) my "Turkestan" II, 39, cf. also Rieu Catalogue of Pers. Man 72, Elliot, Hist. of India, II, 259--283, An edition and translation of the "Nasir's tables" have entered the series, "Bibliotheca Indica".

met with it. Mazanderan resisted the Arab conquerors for a long time. Its rulers pretended to be successors of the Sasanids. Thus, the Sasanian traditions continued to live on, even after the establishment of Islam, and of the Caliphate, and almost all the rulers of the local dynasty of the Bawandids* bore ancient Iranian names upto the middle of the 14th century. No Arabic names can be found amongst them. That was also the reason, why the Shia creed was established here earlier than in other districts of Persia (with the exception of isolated cities and districts.) The Mazenderan idiom is one of the few dialects of Persian, which have a literature of their own, although the epoch, at which the chief Mazenderan poet, Amir Pazwari, lived, is not certain.

Still later than in Mazanderan Islam (also in its Shia garb) was established in Gilan a province situated to the West of Mazenderan. Gilan is con-

* Thus, in an article by E. G. Browne, (JRAS, 1904--32) without any mention of source, later. in 1920; (Hist. of Pers. literature, etc. 66) E. G. Browne himself wrote regarding that chapter that it is probably an addition by a later hand, although in the introduction to the edition of this work (P. LXIII; Persian Introduction, p. 83) that supplementary chapter is also ascribed to Nasirud Din Tusi.

sidered now as a unit in itself, but was divided into two parts, during the first centuries of Islam, that of the plains or Gilan, in the strict sense of the word, inhabited by people who were called Gilas* (the Gelai of the ancient geographers) and that of the hills or Daylam. Even in the epoch of the greatest power of the Caliphs, under Harun-ar-Rashid† (786-809), the Muslim political power in that part of Iran did not reach the Caspian sea, so that Qazwin was a frontier city of the Caliphate. The Islamic religion became pre dominant in Daylam and Gilan only in the 10th century, in the same century, the dynasty of the Buwaihids‡ arose amongst the Daylamites. It was the first Muslim dynasty which re-established on its coins the title of pre-Islamic kings of Iran (Shah-in-Shah-King of Kings). From the 11th to the 13th century, the hill district to the north of Qazwin was an abode of the chief

* More especially II, 473, History of Pers. ir, 65 ff.

† JRAS 1904, 27, 23, The information given there is far from being complete; thus, the author thinks (28 ff.) that of the work of Yuqayni only a passage is published in the "Persian Chrestomathy" by Schefer; at that time, however, certain other passages were published and even translated. These details have been later mentioned in my article "Djuwayni" in the EI. I, 1116.

‡ W. Barthold, Turkestan, II. 49 ff.

of the heretical Ismailis. The Mongols* conquered Gilan, only in 1307, much later than the other parts of Iran. After that event, Gilan did not play any important role in the political life of Iran. The local dynasties ceased to exist, both here and in Mazanderan in the 17th century.

The economical importance of Mazenderan and Gilan is determined by the climatic peculiarities of these two districts. The Persian sericulture was chiefly concentrated in the Caspian districts, gradually extending from East to West. The silk of Gilan became an object of exportation only in the 13th century. According to the words of a Russian investigator, the wealth of the Gilans was based on sericulture, upto the second half of the 19th century. In the same way, the wealth of Mazenderan was on rice and cotton. Wheat and barley were not cultivated in any of these districts. In Gilan the cultivation of tobacco was introduced for the first time in the 19th century, thus giving the population a sure benefit. Sericulture has several times undergone a crisis on account of a pest among the silkworms.

The dominions of the Caliphs on the Caspian sea as before them those of the Sasanians and, in course of time, the dominions of the Muslim dynas-

* Hist. of Persian Lit. 68.

ties of Iran, reached as far as the Derbent-pass. The Talish, a people of the same origin as the Gilanis, and whose name has, it seems, not been mentioned in the middle Ages, live immediately to the North of the Gilanis, partly in Persia partly in the Lankuran district in Russian territory. The ancient Albany was called "Arran" in the Muslim period, in course of time, the land between the Arab and the Kur was understood as Arran, and in the same way, the name of "Shirwan" was applied to the land between the Kur and the Caspian Sea. Several dynasties of rulers of Shirwan or Shirwan Shahs are mentioned in history from the pre-Islamic period up to the 16th c. These regions, with other North-Western regions, which were definitely separated from Iran and submitted to Russian power, only in the 19th century, became Turkish as far back as the Middle Ages. The limit of the spread of the Turkish language to the South reaches almost as far as Qazwin. Edw. Browne, during his first journey in 1887, established that the first village, in which the Persian language predominated, was the settlement Kirishkin immediately before reaching Qazwin. Even in Qazwin itself, almost all the inhabitants spoke Turkish.* It must be noted, as a

* Particulars about the author and his work are given by me in the "World of Islam" 1912, 73-104 in Russian.

general rule, that the Persian literary language while successfully supplanting the local Iranian dialects and even the independent Iranian languages, like the Kurdish, is not successful in its contest with the language. In every place, where the Persian speaking population live side by side, with a Turkish speaking people, the former begin at first to talk in two languages and afterwards forget their native tongue.*

The chief works, regarding the mediaeval geography of Persia, based on Arabic sources are :-

1. P. Schwarz, Iran in Mittelalter nach den Arabischen geographen I. 1896 II 1910. (Quellen und Forschungen Zur Erd-und Kultur: kunde Bd. III) III. 1912. (Quellen etc. Bd. VI) IV. 1921. The four parts (the fourth part is inaccessible for me) embrace Fars, Kirman, Khuzistan and a part of Persian Iraq. E. Herzfeld's review in "Der Islam" XII. 131-138.)
2. W. Barthold. An historico-geographical sketch of Iran 1903. M. Hartmann's review in D. L L VI (1903) 407-412).
3. G. Le Strange. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. 1905. (Cambridge Geographi-

* About it, e. g. "The World of Islam," I. 74.

cal Series) M. Y. De Goeje's review in D. L. 1905 No. 45 Col. 2798-2800. W. Barthold's review in Zapiscki xvii, 0902-0107.

The historical literature in the Persian language

(Along with translations from and imitations of same)

Re: Islamic Iran, in spite of its political importance, in the history* of the ancient world, just like pre-Islamic India did not create any historical literature of its own. For all the difference of character between the Iranians and the Indians, a difference so wide, that it is difficult to think of these two nations as being close relatives, who spoke originally one and the same language, and lived together in ancient times, both these people were in the same way indifferent to positive geography and positive history, instead of which, they had only myths and legends.

* Information about it, though very incomplete, only the MSS. of England, Paris, Vienna, Munich, Constantinople, and Calcutta are taken into consideration is collected by E. G. Browne in the JRAS--1808, 17--37, there also a plan of the publication of the whole text in seven volumes is proposed independently of the order followed in the mss. (cf. also Hist. of Persia, Lit. 74.)

The sole historical narrative in the proper sense of the word, in the ancient Persian language, which has reached us is the Behistun inscription of Darius—"a huge monument of 520 lines written in three languages."* Darius had chosen for his inscription, the land situated as one of the chief routes which crossed his state between Babylonia and Media, somewhat to the East of the present day, Kermanshah. The form "Behistun", which is found in Arabic geographical literature is an intermediate one between the ancient "Baghistan" ("land of gods") and the present "Bisutun", the rock with the inscriptions and the bas-reliefs may be seen from a great distance, because it is situated at a height of 500 metres above a bare plain.† It is not known whether the name of that rock took its origin from a religious cult which existed there before, or whether it was called by that name under the influence of the sculptures, which have partly a religious character. In the inscription, itself, no mountain is mentioned. Reference is only made to the district Kampada in Greek Kambadene. For some time the

* Hist. of Persia, Litt. 101, ff.

† The narrative of Rashid-ud-Din regarding the art of printing in China had already been published by Bav. V. Rosen at that time *Collections scientifiques de l'Inst. des langues Orientales* III, 108, ff.

army of Darius was camped there, awaiting his arrival from Babylon.

The Bahistun inscription was discovered (in 1836) copied and translated by Rawlinson, the last and most perfect edition and translation is that of *King, Thompson and Budge*. The sculptures and transcriptions of Darius the Great, 1907,* an expedition in order to varify the text was sent in 1904. The reading and the copying of the inscription is on a polished surface of a rock standing almost perpendicularly. Weissbach† in the "Grundriss" thought that it would be necessary to ascend towards the inscriptions by means of an attached aerostat. The king was able to build a scaffold and to fasten it to the rock. The work of the inscription took several weeks

The most important result of the new comparison was according to the words of Weissbach and Turaev the establishment of the chronology of events. It was proved that the Ancient-Iranian calender differed from the Babylonian solely by a different designation of the months. The month and the date are indicated in the inscription, but not the year. It is said, however, that all the events took

* JRAS, 1903, 37.

† Ibid, 29.

place in the same year, namely in the year of his accession to the throne, or more correctly, during a year and a half—from the 29th September of the year 522 to the 10th March 520, * Whilst before these events were considered to have taken place during the period of six years ending 516.

Some other inscriptions of Darius, in Persepolis and its environs. reached us, which represent an important historical source. They contain desideratum and teachings of the king, the enumeration of all peoples conquered by the Persians and representatives of these peoples in their national attire are exhibited on the bas-reliefs. But, we do not find in these inscriptions, as in that of Behistun, any narratives about the course of historical events with personal and geographical names, nor do such exist in the inscriptions of the Muslim period, which were made upon rocks in mountain passes in commemoration of events, but without any detailed narrative about the same, even in the 16th century.

A Greek† author (Ktesias, end of the 5th c. and beginning of the 6th c.) declares that he got his information regarding the history of the Persians

* cf. my review in the "World of Islam", I, 56 ff.

† Muh. Awfi, Lubabu, l'Albab, ed. by E.G. Browne. 11,345.

from the "books of the kings." He actually quotes very often Iranian epic narratives altered after his own fashion, which were composed chiefly in the Eastern provinces of the State.* Ktesis, obviously, did not know that the Behistun inscription was made by Darius and attributed it to the mythical Assyrian queen Semiramis.† It is, however, not certain that the work attributed to Ktesiaa (preserved in Divdorus) was actually composed by him. Muslim authors had still more fantastic conceptions regarding the Behistan inscription.‡

As in ancient-Persian, so also in Middle Persian, (or Pehlavi) we have only one historical inscription, in the proper sense of the word. This inscription may be seen in the district Paikuli§.

* "Zafar-Nama" by Hamadullah Qazwini, Ms. of the British Museum, Or. 2838, Hist. of Pers. Lit. 95 ff.

† The chronicle by Shams-ud-Din Kashani, Ms. of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, No. 1443 Blochet, *Introd. e'l' historie des Mongols*, 94 ff. *Shahinshah Namah*", or "Chingiz-Nama" by Ahmad Tabrizi, Ms. of the British Museum, Or 2780, (Rieu, supplement, p. 135) "Ghazan-Nama" by Nur-ud-Din C. Shams-ud-Din Muhammad, Ms. belonging to E.G. Browne, (*Hist. of Per. Lit.*, 103)

‡ "Excellent historical manual" JRAS, 1909, 721.

§ *Hist. of Pers. Lit.*, 87-95.

(literally, "the foot of the mountain-pass") near the former Persian-Turkish frontier, between the Persian city Qasr-i-Shirin and the Turkish town Sulaimaniyeh, not far from the Kurdish village Ban-Khaylan.* The decipherment of that inscription also discovered by Rawlinson, offers great difficulties and in an article published in 1921, only the hope could be expressed,† that some day, in the future it would be possible to decipher the inscription and to obtain some new information about the events narrated in the same, which are closely related to the incidents, which took place when the power was passing over from the hand of the Arsacids to the Sasanids.‡ The inscription was made not on the rock itself, but on the flagstones which form the outer coating of a building erected there, probably by the same king, in memory of some events. Such is the suggestion made indirectly by E. Herzfeld,§ as may be seen from the term he uses, viz. *Denkmalsturm*. The building fell down and the

* In the edition of Narshakhi (v.s. p. 70), 99-III.

† J As. x 4, xi, xii, xiii, (1848-9) cf. my "Turkestan", II, 51, where vol. xiii is omitted.

‡ cf. my essay "On a Persian Inscription on the Wall of the Mosque Manuha at Ani" (in Russian) 1911, (Ano-Series, No. 5) 20, and earlier Zapiski, xix, 131.

§ p. 32 ff. of the translation.

flagstones with inscriptions are lying on the ground by its Eastern side.* Rawlinson copied some separate fragments in 1844, but it was impossible to establish by them the order of the lines. A new more detailed investigation was necessary, and it was made by E. Herzfeld in 1913; but this investigation also could not re-establish completely the text. Herzfeld was able only to tell (in 1921) that in that inscription the Persians and the Parthians are mentioned together (*Pars ut Pathav*) six times, as the Persians, with the Medians in the Behistun inscription, of Eastern kings there are mentioned the Shahs of the Khwarizmians, the Kushanas and the Sakas, and also rulers of other regions, the names of which are more difficult to decipher. It cannot be seen from the text who of them is mentioned as an enemy, and who was in the quality of an ally or a vassal.†

A considerable number of inscriptions of the Persian kings with their names and titles have reached us. There exist bas-reliefs and other sculptures, with their images and also with representations of certain historical events, amongst them that of the Emperor Valerian, being taken into captivity by

* cf. Ani-Series, No. 5, p. 44.

† E.G. Browne (Hist. of Pers. Lit. 361) does not mention it.

Shapur I in 260,* but these inscriptions do not contain any narratives regarding any historical events, as for instance, the strife between Persia and Rome.† It is still more difficult to use as an historical source, and to refer to certain epochs, nations and persons, the Iranian royal tombs, which bear no inscriptions nor sculptures, although there have been attempts to give an exact list of these sepulchres and a precise answer to the question, which of them must belong to the Median epoch.‡

In the Sasanian period, otherwise than in that of the Achemenids, historical books must have existed without any doubt in the royal library, and there is no doubt that the translator Sergius, a Syrian, who is quoted by the Byzantine historian of the 6th century. Agathias was acquainted with them. Sergius did not meet with any obstacles on the part of the Persians. They

* "Texts relative to the history of Central Asia", fasc. I, 1915.

† cf. my "Turkistan", II, 55.

‡ To which I had to return several times, besides the "Texts relative to the history of Central Asia", see also "Zapiski", xv, 226, xii, 04, ff, xviii, 0138 ff. 20 ff, collected articles of Bar. Rosen's pupils, 1897, 1, ff. "Izvestiya", 1914, 879, ff. 1915, 1965 ff, Olughbek and his time, 1918, 113, ff. 159 ff.

considered that it was merely all the better for the glory of their kings, if their history was known by the Romans, Agathias gives details only about the Sasanian dynasty, but, as pointed out by Noeldeke, there is hardly a doubt that the history of Iran of the most ancient times was related in the same books. From the narratives of Agathias,* and of some Armenian authors, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the Persian historical tradition had already then the same shape, in which we find it later in Muslim authors. The name Acheminids was altogether forgotten, instead of it, two mythical dynasties, the Pishdadians and the Kayanians, were created. Pishdad is the surname of the King Kushang, who was the first to establish justice on earth (*pish* forward, *dad* justice,)[†] who taught the

* These data have remained unknown to E.G. Browne (Hist. of Persi, Litt. 424, ff.) for whom in 1920, all the information about Hafiz-i-Abru seems to be limited to the data given in the catalogues by Rieu of 1879, and 1895. Not to speak of works written in Russian, even the article on Hafiz-i-Abru in the "Encyclopaedia of Islam" has been altogether neglected by him. In the same way also, in the "Grundriss" (II, 576 and 579) both the Oxford MSS. co-recognised in the catalogue by E. Sachau and H. Ethe are marked as works by "anonymous authors."

† In some manuscripts the prefaces and sometimes even whole chapters from the two works are joined together.

men to erect buildings, to extract metals from the earth, etc. The best-known of his descendants is his grandson Jamshid, (properly Jamshid—a royal title of the same origin as the word "Shah" from the Ancient-Persian *khshayathia*). Awestan—Yima, in India, Yama and Afridun in the Awesta—Thraetaona in India—Traitana—heroes of the ancient Aryan epics, common to the Indians and the Iranians. The name of the second dynasty has its origin from the word *Kay*, in Awestan *Kavay*. Thus are called, in the most ancient hymns of the Awesta, the rulers, who were generally hostile to the Zoroastrian doctrine. The prince (*kavay*) Vishtaspa (in Greek Hystaspes) was an exception because he adopted the new doctrine. Vishtaspa (Bishtaps or Gushtaps) in the epics also is one of the representatives of that dynasty although the word "Kay" is not used with his name, as regularly as with the names of his predecessors. The word "Kay" is in general, never used when the names of his descendants are mentioned. His grandson Bahaman was identified in the Greek tradition with Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (Greek Makrakheir, Pers. Diras-dast) 465-424. After Bahman are mentioned his son Darab (Darius) I and the latter's son Darius II, in whose reign the conquest of Persia by Alexander took place—the first actual historical event known to Persian tradition. The addition of

the two Dariuses to the names of the mythical Kayanian kings is the sole trace of the existence of the Achemenids in that tradition. The origin of the Iranian state-banner, which was taken by the Arabs in the battle of Qadisiyya on the Euphrates in 636 was also transferred into the mythical ancient times and attributed to the mythical person of the blacksmith *Kava*, which must have obviously existed in the Achemenian period, and remained after them in the hands of the rulers of their native country Fars, because we see its representation in the picture of the battle between Darius and Alexander at Tssas (333) and in later times, on Sasanian coins of the period, when the Sasanids were still mere local rulers of Fars.*

The traditions give very scarce information about the proximate predecessors of the Sasanids, as rulers of Iran—the Arsacids, nevertheless, some traces of the existence of that dynasty can be found. The name Arrac is found in the forms Ashk, Ashkan, and Ashgan. The dynasty is called the

* E.G. Browne (Hist. of Pers. Litt, 425) knows only MSS. of the first two volumes. He has got in his possession an excellent copy of the second volume written during the author's lifetime, in Herat, the place where the author used to live and in the very year of the composition of that part of the work (1425).

Ashkanians. According to the chronology of the Persian tradition, the Ashkanians ruled only 266 years. That chronological mistake existed already in the pre-Islamic sources because in the works of Agathias, mention is made of 270 years. The information regarding the accession to the throne of the Ashkanians, the succession and the duration of the separate reigns are also far from being correctly recorded.

The authentic history of the Persian people with exact chronological information begins only with the Sasanians period. That information existed already in the chronicle used by Agathias, through Sergius.* The same information was borrowed by Muslim authors, from the "Royal Book" (Kuday-Namah") translated into Arabic, the final redaction of which took place at the very end of the Sassanian period. This book was rather an official epic than an official history. The epic traditions were inserted into exact chronological forms in the same way as was done in the Greek† works of the Alexandrian scholars. As can be seen from quotations found in the works of Muslim authors, the number of years, months, and even days, which had passed from the time of the first man, upto the end of the

* See for it, for instance, Rieu, *Pers. Mss*, 185 ff.

† Isk. Munshi, *Pers. Lith*, ed. II, 251.

Sassanian dynasty, was definitely stated even in the Awesta.* The history of the Sassanids, which was found in this book, had not the character of an entirely authentic chronicle. Faulty information is sometimes given, regarding the genealogy of the kings. Events of their reign are now and then narrated in epic style, with a tendency to favour the knightly aristocracy. All the dynasties,† the mythical and the historical, are geneologically interconnected, in such a way that according to the tradition from the most ancient times, there existed only one royal family. Even in the Muslim period only the ascendants of pre-Islamic kings, were recognised as lawful rulers of Persia. Thus, fantastic geneologies were composed in order to transform usurpers into lawful kings.

After the fall of the Iranian State and the establishment of Islam, the literary traditions of pre-Islamic‡ Iran were chiefly maintained in three regions. In the Western part of Fars, where in a special establishment, in the so-called "Castle of gypsum" traditions about the former kings and

* About him Grundriss, II, 357, Rieu, Pers. Ms. 117 ff. supplement No. 424 Elliot, Hist. of India, v, 115 ff.

† R. Garbe, Kaisar Akbar von Indien, 1909, 36.

‡ Rieu, Pers. Mss. 92.

their collaborators were transmitted from one generation to the other. In Ispahan,* which became under Islam a big city and a centre of the intellectual life of Persia, in Khorasan,† where a library of Pehlavi manuscripts existed, in Merv which according to tradition, were brought there, at the time of the flight of the last Sassanian king Yazdegard III. But the greatest care was displayed not so much to preserve integrally the ancient traditions, as to glorify the mother-country, and to prove the superiority of the conquered Persians over their Arab conquerors. That tendency was seen not only in their manner of explaining the tradition, but also in its actual composition. Those by whom the tradition was transmitted did not stop at telling deliberate falsehoods, in order to repersent favourably either the whole of their nation or else, under the influence of local patriotism, their mother-country in the more restricted sense of the word. It was more necessary to convince the Arabs‡ of the many cultural merits of the Persians, than the Persians themselves. We have information about several translations of the Khuday-

* History of India, iv, 132 ff.

† Mirkhond, *Histoire des Smanides*, texte persan, trad. par, M. Defremery, 247.

‡ The text has been published by me in the appendix to the essay on "Ulgh-bek and his time."

Nameh, and also about translations of some other works, and it seems that no distinction was made between an historical work, and an historical novel. The history of the Sasanids was the main subject of these works. Educated Persians themselves were compelled to recognise the presence of many obviously fantastical elements in the traditions of the earlier centuries. Nevertheless, these elements were brought into relation with similar traditions of other nations (for instance Jamshid and Solomon), and thus images of a universal history were created, which represented a collection of all kinds of traditions, biblical and those of classical antiquity, Ancient-Arabian and Ancient-Persian, amongst which the latter were, of course, predominant.

That work was going on quite naturally not in the places where the Persian traditions were actually preserved, but in the centres of Muslim cultural life and more especially in Baghdad.* The historian Tabari, a Persian by origin, who wrote, however,

* This translation is mentioned in an unpublished history of Khiva (ms. in the As. Mus. 5900 c. f. 194 c.) Some work in that direction seems to have been done in the 20th century, as well, cf. the report by A.D. Kalmykov in the Proceedings of the Turk. Circle of Lovers of Archaeology, xii, 57.

always in Arabic and based himself in his writing most probably exclusively, on Arabic sources, died in Baghdad 923, when he was still engaged in composing his vast work in the history of the world. In 963, the work of Tabari* appeared in Bukhara, the capital of the Samanid dynasty, in a most careless and often inaccurate translation attributed to the Samanid Wazir Abu-Ali-Muhammad ibn Muhammad Balami. The work of Balami, or, as he is generally called, "The Persian Tabari"† is, nowadays, after the edition of the Arabic original, not so much of interest, as an historical source, but rather as a literary document. The translator, while mostly abridging the original, introduced in it, at the same time, other narratives, chiefly of a legendary character, quoting Persian‡ written sources. Now and then, he gives some additional explanations meant for the readers of the translation. Thus in the story of Moses,

* The fact that Khwand-Amir was not the son, as it was supposed before, but the grandson of Mir-Khwand, has been pointed out by Rieu, *Pers. Mss.* 96.

† In the *History of India*, iv, 144, the work by Khwand-Amir is mentioned as "a most able compendium of Asiatic history".

‡ V. Grigoriev, *A History of the Mongols from the earliest times up to Tamerlan*. (in Russian). Transl. from Persian. St. Petersburg, 1834.

he adds that the Nile* divided the capital of Egypt into two parts in the same way as the capital of the Samanids is divided by the Bukhara canal, but that the Nile is ten times wider and deeper than that canal. An exhaustive analysis of the "Persian Tabari" as literary document is as yet unattainable. The work is accessible in its French translation by Zotenberg, but no critical edition of it exists as yet. There are some Oriental editions. Thus in India, besides the earlier Lucknow edition, which is mentioned by Rieu, there was published another in Cawnpore (1896). When comparing, for instance, Zotenberg's† translation, with the Cawnpore edition, one sees that the most characteristic passage of the translation, viz. the comparison of the Nile with the Bukhara canal, is omitted in the Cawnpore edition, on the other hand in the passage intercalated, by the Persian‡ translator, regarding a taxation reform supposed to have been introduced by King Qutad

* cf. mentions of these lithographs in my "essay on Ulugh-bek and his time", Index. under the word "Kh.wand-Amir", 157, and 160.

† *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino*, II, 183, quotations from the same work *ibid.* 262, 265 and 33. About P. della Valle and his travels see my work "A History of Oriental Studies" (in Russian) 1911, 102 ff.

‡ Rieu, *Pers. Mss.* 104.

(488-531) Zotenberg's* translation omits the words of the Persian translator, which can be found in the Cawnpore edition, to the effect that the above narrative was found by him in Persian historical chronicles. In Zotenberg's translation, as well as in many of the existing manuscripts, a more or less detailed narrative is given down to the time of the death of Caliph† Mutasim (842). Events, which took place up to the death of Mutariz (869) are briefly recorded in two pages. The Cawnpore edition, as well as two MSS. in the British Museum, contain an enumeration of Caliphs up to the death of al-Mustashir (1118) wherein the unknown continuator (?) states he enumerates the Caliphs up to his own days and leaves to his descendants to add the name of their Caliphs and Sultans.‡ In the oldest MSS. of the work in the British Museum, the Persian translator says that in the original, the narrative was brought as far as the year 294 (909) and

* Amongst them the "Tarikh-i-Haydari" by Haydar Razi deserves a special mention on account of the author's comparatively wide outlook and the abundance of material. About it cf. more especially the Berlin catalogue by Pertsin (Verzeichniss) No. 418, and my article "Haidar-Razi" in the E.I. II, 231.

† About it, "Izvestiya", 1919, 927. ff.

‡ Rieu Pers. Mss, 192,

that death stole upon Tabari* just when he was narrating events of that year. This passage cannot be found either in Zotenberg's translation, or in the Cawnpore edition. The existing versions† differ exceedingly one from another, both as regards the scope of their expositions, and the way in which the material is divided into books.‡ This fact is mentioned in Zotenberg's translation, but no details are given. The absence of a critical edition of the Persian Tabari was noted as early as 1895, as being one of the most serious gaps in the field of research. This gap has not been filled upto this time.

Still less investigated is the course of the development of Persian historiography from the time of the "Persian Tabari" to the words of the author of the article on Persian literature in the "Grundriss", as numerous as the sands of the sea. In the

* Rieu, Supplement, Nos, 68-69, About other works on the history of the Qajar dynasty see "Grundriss", II, 604.

† About translations of work on the history of Napoleon I, see Comte. A. de. Gobineau, Fraisans on Asie, 160.

‡ Information about him and a full list of his works are found in an article by V. Zhukovsky in the "Zapiski", x, 184,-191. An unfavourable mention about Muhammad Husan is found in E.G. Browne, The Persian Revolution, 1910, 405.

"Grundriss"* itself, the chapter on the historical literature is very short and compiled in such a careless manner that Arabic authors are represented there as successors to Balami, whose works are in reality, a sequel to the Arabic original. The three volumes of the "Literary History of Persia", by Edw. G. Browne,† contain only one chapter specially consecrated to historical literature, treating of the historians of the Mongolian period (13th to 17th century), which is the golden age of Persian historiography. Information about other historians is scattered all over the work, and no more than ten lines are consecrated to Balami. The eight volumes of the "History of India", as it is narrated by its own historians give a great deal of information, regarding Persian historical literature. It was Sir H. W. Elliot, who began this work and after his death Y. Dawson, published his posthumous papers, which constitute a collection of fragments, relative to the history of India, chiefly culled from Persian works, translated into English with introductory articles, dealing with individual historians and their works.

* Zapiski, x, 189, note, 4.

† A translation of the geographical part has been published by Le Strange in the JRASI 1912, (1-30, 311-339, 865-889) and separately in the "Asiatic Monographs" vol. xiv.

As regards the history of Persia itself, such a compendium (?) does not exist and it would be more difficult to compile it on account of the far greater amount of material available. In order to obtain more detailed information about Persian historical works, it is necessary to have recourse to the catalogues of great European libraries, of which the first place will probably always belong to the catalogue* of the British Museum,† compiled by Ch. Rieu, though at the present time, there is need of a new edition, on account of the extensive additions, both to the collections of the British Museum and to many other Libraries quoted in Rieu's‡ catalogue. In Russian some information regarding Persian historiography can be found in the "History of Persia, its literature and its dervishtheosophy" by A. Krinsky§ (which has been several times re-edited) namely, in its chapter on the "Sources and books of Reference" (V.L.) and more especially, in the chap-

* cf. also Grundriss, II, 362, where the existence of an autograph by the author in the Bodleian Library in Oxford is mentioned.

† Articles "Afghanistan" and "Ahmed Shah" E.I. I. 183, and 216.

‡ Oskar Mann in ZDMG, LII, 109 ff.

§ The name of the author is quoted by O. Maru (ibid. 113) differently from the E.I.

ter "Historiography"* (V.III) which deals with the historians from the 13th to the 16th centuries.

Tabar's work remains for scholars now the chief source of historical information, regarding the pre-Islamic period, and the first centuries of Islam. The patriotic tendencies of the Persians could not be entirely satisfied with it, for the simple reason that the Arabs and Islam occupy a greater place in it than the Persians and their culture. In the Cawnpore edition, Balami's† work is divided into four volumes, only one of which is consecrated to Muhammad and the Caliphs, viz., the fourth volume, but it is more voluminous than the other three taken together. The Persians needed a work about their ancient times in their own tongue. Such work was compiled for the viceroy of Khorasan, Abu Mansur-Muhammed ibn-Abd-ar-Razzaq (960-962), a contemporary of Balami. Here also, as in the case of the work of Balami, the compilation was not based upon authentic collections of Iranian‡ traditions; but on Arabic translations and adaptations of the same. In the same 10th century, that work was turned into verse, first by a native of Balkh,§ the poet Daqiqi,

* ZDMG, VII, 99 ff.

† El, I, 65.

‡ "Zapiski", XV, 257.

§ Ibid, 183.

and further by a native of Tus (near the present Meshed), Firdausi. Instead of the term, "Khuday-Nameh",* in the Islamic period (when the word "Khuday" had already lost its original meaning of "king" and preserved only the meaning "god") the term, "Shah-Nameh" became current. The verse of Firdausi and even of Daqiqi, shows that a fully elaborated epic style, already existed in their time, which means that they must have had predecessors,† but the work of Firdausi, "the national epic which in such a form does not exist among any other nations" had supplanted all other attempts in that direction. According to Edw. Browne's words, it remains still "the chief source, whence the Persians derive their ideas as to the ancient history of their nation."‡ Even in the words attributed to Mahmud of Ghazna (998-1030) addressed to his enemy, the Bawaihid Majd-ud-Dowlah (997-1029) the Shah

* Ibid, 187-205.

† About it A.N. Sameilovitch; Zapiski, XVII, 074 ff. Ibid about the French translation by Pavet de Courtiolle (1871) also done from the Russian edition.

§ That translation was made from the Persian translation by Abdu-r-Rahim, cf. also Elliot, Hist. of India, IV, 218, where it is said about the Memoirs of Babur that they are in no way inferior to the memoirs of Herodotus and only in some degree inferior to the Memoirs by Julius Caesar.

Nameh as "the history of the Persians" is placed by the side of Tabari's work, which is called "the history of the Muslims". Similar Persian epic poems which imitated² the epic of Firdausi were composed in later times for the glorification of Muslim rulers, not only those of Persia upto Fath-Ali-Shah (1797-1834); but also those of Turkestan upto Khudayar-Khan of Kokand, whose accession to the throne for the first time took place in the year 1845 and who was dethroned in 1875.

The epic of Firdausi was brought up to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. Both Balami and Firdausi took no interest in the Muslim dynasties, which appeared in Khorasan from the 9th century, and who boasted of their descent from the ancient Persian kings.* A special work dealing with the history of the rulers of Khorasan already existed at that time, but only in Arabic. The Arabic language was used by Persian† historians, not only in their works on universal history, but also for the compilation of local histories.‡ When there appeared historical works in Persian, dealing with the history of individual cities

* Zapiski, xv, 176-187.

† ZDMG, XXXIII, 235 ff.

‡ More especially in his essay on Bukhara and Khiva coins (Proceedings of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, iv, 328 ff.)

etc., their authors were dependent on their predecessors, who wrote in Arabic, in the same way as the authors of Universal* histories.

The most ancient original historical work in Persian, which reached us, is that of Gardizi, compiled in the middle of the 11th century. It is preserved in the manuscripts† of which one is a copy of the other. The work of Gardizi is not yet published.‡ To the pre-Islamic history and to that of the Caliphs, Gardizi§ adjoins the history of Khorasan upto his contemporary dynasty of Ghazna, which he brings as far as the year 1041, for the description of events up to 955, he bases himself on the Arabic work of as-Sallami.§ To the pure-

* Y. Senkovski, *Supplement a l'histoire generale des Huns*, etc. 1824.

† About certain events in Bukhara, Kohand, and Kashgharia, *Memoirs* by Mirza Shams-Bukhari, 1861 (*Learned Memoranda of the University of Kazan*.)

‡ *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale* par Abdul-Karim Boukhary, 1876.

§ About it also Zapiski, xv, 216, and 257.

§ Grundriss, II, 362, A fragment from that volume has been published by me (text and transl.) in the *Proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society, Section of Ethnography*, xxxiv, (G.N. Potanian Memorial Vol. 1909) 293-308.

ly historical part of the work of Gardizi are added chapters of historic-geographical contents, devoted to India and to the country of the Turks* (in Central Asia). In these chapters, he is also entirely dependent on Arabic† sources, and quite often translates the Arabic text incorrectly. Nevertheless,‡ his work is very important for us, particularly because several of his Arabic sources are lost. The same is to be said with regard to an earlier anonymous geographical work in Persian,§ compiled in 982-3 also on the territory of the present Afghanistan.¶

The 11th century can be considered to have been in every way the golden age of Persian* literature. We are, therefore, comparatively well acquainted with the history of the first rulers of the dynasty of Ghaznah.† A contemporary

* Zapiski, xv, 232. ff.

† Ibid, xxii, 306.

‡ Ibid, xxiii, 255, ff. ibid, contents of the whole work.

§ Another work by Abul-Ghazi, "The Genealogical Tree of the Turkemans" (Shajara-i-Taraima) has been translated by A.G. Fumansky (Ashkhabad, 1897) About the Mss. of the original see A.N. Samellovitch in the Zapiski, xviii, 0161.

¶ Edited by Desmaisons, text 72, transl. 78.

* Zapiski, xv, 229-232.

† Ibid, xxii, 320.

of Sultan Mahmud, his court historian, Utbi, wrote in Arabic, and, moreover, in an extremely refined style. His work was translated into Persian, only in the 13th century, and that translation was made in Western Persia at a time, when a tendency in favour of the rhetorical style became prevalent in Persian historiography. It was further translated from Persian into English. Utbi's† work, both in the original and its Persian translation, was very popular. Many historians, both Arabs and Persians, made use of it, and very often, in such a way that they copied it to the letter. The Persian historians of the 11th century used to write in a quite different style, almost approaching the everyday colloquial. Thus wrote besides Gardizi§ also Abu-l-Fazal-Bayhaqi, who compiled the history of the Ghaznavids from 1018. Only a part of that work has reached us, namely the one devoted to the reign of Sultan Masud, 1033-1041. This part corresponds to the volumes from 6 to 10, the total number of the volumes being thirty, where

† Edited by Desmaisons, text 37, translation 36.

§ The article (in Russian) "Events preceding the expedition to Khiva in 1373, according to the narrative by Khiva historian" (Kauffman Series, 1910, 1-19) "A Contribution to the history of the irrigation in Turkestan" (in Russian) 1914.

from we may conclude that the author had brought his work almost up to the day of his death, which took place in 1077 (the part that has reached us was written between 1058 and 1059). This shows that the narrative is extremely detailed. Bayhaqi's work does not represent an historical work in the proper sense of the word, but merely the author's notes, regarding events, which took place in his days. As an officer of the state-chancellery, he was able to give exact information with regard to the doings of the Sultans and the chief government officials. In that respect, his work is a living image of his epoch. No complete copy of his work was in existence, even as far back as the 12th century. Mention of the first volumes missing, is found even in the works of an author of the 15th century. No quotations from the last 20 volumes have been encountered up to the present. Neither a critical edition nor a translation of Bayhaqi's work exists. There is a rather detailed summary of its contents in French.

Bayhaqi quotes in only one passage a written source, namely the autographical notes of the prominent scholar Abu Rayhan at Biruni, regarding certain events in Khawarizm. Al-Biruni's book bore the title: "Famous people of Hazwirizm", Bayhaqi borrowed thence a narrative about an encounter

between Mahmud of Ghazna and Mamun, the ruler of Khazwarizm, which ended in Mamun being killed in March 1017, and in the occupation of Khawarizm† by Mahmud. One cannot see from Bayhazī's text, whether the work of al-Biruni was written in Arabic or in Persian. In general al-Biruni's works are written in Arabic. There are moreover, amongst them translations from Persian and from Sanskrit. The name of the book on the history of Khawarizm is not contained in the list of his works before 1041 compiled by al-Biruni himself, but it is mentioned under a somewhat altered title in the life of Biruni in the biographical dictionary by Yaqut. Another historical work of al-Biruni is also mentioned, there bearing the title: "The history of Sultan Mahmud's rule and records about his father."

The work of Mahmud Varraq, who was an intimate friend of Bayhaqī,§ was probably compiled in Persian and it must have been devoted in all probability

† Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des affaires étrangères, vii, Manuscrits, Tures, 1197, 154 ff.

§ Tarikh-i-Shahrukhi, the work of Mullah Niyazi, Md. etc. edited by N.N. Pantusev, Kazan 1885. Abstracts from this work have been quoted by me in the "Turkestanskiya Vedomosti" 1898 (the article "A native on the Russian conquest" Nos. 13, 14, 37, and 40) and in the Zapiski xi, 105-114.

to universal history,§ as it was said to have embraced the history of "several thousand years". Mahmud Varraq§ brought his work down to the year 409 of the Hijra (1018-9 A. D.) chiefly because Bayhaqi's work begins with that year. Mahmud's work was compiled in 450 A. H. (1058 A. D.) Bayhaqi quotes Mahmud Varraq in the narrative about events of the 9th century, and calls him a reliable historian. Nevertheless, that work was obviously lost quite early as it is afterwards nowhere mentioned.

In the same 11th century, Khorasan was conquered by a Turkoman† tribe, at the head of which stood the dynasty of the Seljuqs. The conquerors proceeded immediately towards the West and reduced

§ Zapiski, xv, 272, ff. xxii, 303-320, Proceedings of the Circle of Lovers of Archaeology, xviii, (on the cover xvii,) 31 ff. etc.

§ As obviously, supposed by J. Resen (ZDMG, LXXVI, 104, *Schen sein Sehn und Nachfolger Humayun bediente sich zum gleichen Zweck des Persischen*) cf. *Hist. of India*, V, 116 ff. *Grundriss*, II, 357.

† Reviewed by W. Barthold in the *Zapiski*, X, 215-226. Regarding the author and his work see also *Hist. of India*, v, 127 ff. *Rieu, Pers. Man* 164 ff. *EI*, II, 232.

very soon all Muslim* Asia, from the confines of China to the Mediterranean. In the West, the success of the Byzantians,§ who had, again, resumed their aggression on Islam, were not only stopped by them, but they definitely annexed Asia Minor to the Muslim world—an object for which the Caliphs‡ had been struggling in vain. The extension to the West of the Seljuq empire resulted in the spread of the influence of Eastern Iranian culture. The most characteristic phenomenon of that epoch is the gradual introduction in Mesopotamia,§ Syria, Egypt and Northern Africa of the *madrassah*, i. e. a superior theological school of a type established in Eastern Iran. Terms of Persian origin, used even by

* Zapiski, XXII, 313-319, Photos from the corresponding Mss. are preserved in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy.

§ *Tarikh-i-Amāniyah*, edited by Pantusev, 1905, cf. my review in the Zapiski, xvii, 0188-0195.

‡ Zapiski, xv, 236-254, xxii, 319. The Chinese or Eastern Turkestan by V.V. Grigoriev, ii, 355, ff. Collections scientifiques, etc. viii, 156 ff. Mitt. des Seminars für or. Sprachen, vii, Westas. Stud. 18. ff. M. Hartmann, Der Islamischen Orient, I. Heft. 6-10-1905.

§ Information about it besides the above mentioned E.G. Browne's Series, p. 72 Grundriss, II, 214, ff. 364 ff. Mitt. des Seminars, etc. vii, Westas. Stud. 87 ff. Zapiski, xv, 205 ff. 212 ff. xix, 0198, ff. xxii. 252 ff. etc.

historians, who wrote in Arabic, begin to permeate the state terminology, besides the Khurosaniš term, "Khvajah" in the sense of "officer", mentioned by me in another passage. There is an account given by the historian Abu-Shuja the continuator of Ibn-Miskarwayh, regarding the establishment under the "Turkish power", i. e. the Seljuqs of the office of an "amir of justice" (amir-i-dad), whose duty it was to receive complaints.

The progress of Persian historiography was accordingly furthered by these events. Formerly, under the rule of the Iranian Buwayhids, in Western Persia, historians wrote obviously solely in Arabic. Now, already in the 11th century, a Persian minister composed for his Turkish king, who lived chiefly in Western Persia, a treatise on the art of government. The theoretical thesis, of which are illustrated by historical accounts, not always authentic, it is true. That work is accessible in a European edition, though a not sufficiently critical one, and in a French translation, which is also far from being free from mistakes. In a supplementary volume, the editor mentions many other historical and geographical texts (without translation) referring to the

§ About him see besides Zapiški xvii, p. xxiii, xxv, 408.

same epoch, *Siasset Nameh*.* *Traite de gouvernement compose pour le Sultan Melik Chah par le vazir Nizam-ol Moulk, Texte persan edite par Ch. Schefer*§ 1891, *Traduction* 1893, *Supplement* 1897.

The use of the Persian language in the historical literature of Western Persia at that epoch was still not firmly established. The noters of the minister Anushirwan C, Khalid† al-Khashani, composed in Persian in the 12th century, which embraced events from 1072 to 1134, have reached us only in the work of another historian, also a Persian by birth, but who wrote in Arabic, viz. "Imadu-d-din Iafahani"§. In Eastern Iran instances of translation from Persian into Arabic are more frequent. It happens very often, besides, that a work written first in Arabic is known to us, only in its Persian translation, generally in an abridged form.° The

* The Muslim world in Russian 50-66, regarding the object in view, see also. p. 92.

§ Agathias, iv. eg.

† The Christain East in Russian I. 76 ff

§ Otto cf. Freisingon "Persarum at Medorum reges fratres, Samiardos dictos" The text is queted by F. Zar-ncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, I, 21, from *Mon Germ. hist. Script.* xx, 266.

° Lit. History of Persia. I; 42. ff.

works regarding the history of Iranian cities were written originally in Arabic, on account of their contents, being more of a theological than of an historical character. Amongst them, the most precious material is found in the work of Narshakhi on the history of Bukhara composed in 332 (943-4) and translated into Persian only in 522 (1028-9), when, according to the translator's words, "the people were mostly disinclined to read Arabic books". The version which has reached us, and is accessible both in a Persian* edition and in a Russian translation is still more abridged and belongs to the first half of the 13th century (the last event mentioned in it is the conquest of Bukhara§ by Chingiz-Khan in 1220), but this version comes down to us also only in later manuscripts, though there is besides reason to suppose that a more complete text of the work of Narshakhi was still in existence as recently as in the 16th century. A history of Samargand,§ originally composed in the 12th century in Arabic, by the theologian, Abu-Hafa Omar Nasafi,° and which

* The literature of travels has been most detailedly examined by Ch. Schefer in his introduction to his edition of Raphael du Mans work—*Etat de la Perse* on 1660 Paris 1890.

§ Bibliothèque Orientale s.v. Esfahan.

§ Ibid, s.v. Khosrou.

° Ibid, s.v. Ismael.

has reached us also in an abridged Persian translation, and has been partly translated into Russian,* is still more disfigured by later additions, and contains less exact information.

Towards the beginning of the 13th century, historical works in Persian were written in all the countries, which were under the influence of Persian culture (for instance in architecture†) from India to Asia Minor. More or less, at the same time, in the first year of the 13th century, the historical works of Hasan Nizami‡ were compiled for a ruler of Delhi and by Muhammad Ravandi, for a Sultan of Asia Minor. The last work was translated into Turkish in the 15th century. The greatest part of that literature is lost, and we are acquainted merely with the titles. It is hardly necessary to enumerate here all these titles. It has been, besides partly done in my book, "Turkistan at the time of the Mongol Invasion". During these last years, several manuscripts have been found of works, which had been regarded as lost. Some new details came to light with regard to some other works. Thus it

* The titles of European works of the 18th century on Nadir Shah are quoted in the Grundriss vol. ii 592.

† E.G. Browne, Litt. Hist. of Persia, II, 46 ff.

‡ About it see Browne op. cit. 49-59.

has been established that the monograph about the city of Isfahan, which was written in the 11th century, by Mufazzal Mafarrukhi, and which was known before only in a Persian translation is preserved also in its Arabic original. Moreover, in several copies. In 1912, a copy of the work of Fakhr-d-Din* Marvarrudi, compiled early in the 13th century and considered lost, was purchased by a private person. It had been, besides, always mentioned as a "poetical chronicle".† It proved to be in reality in collection of genealogies, and it is moreover written in prose. There are, however, cases, when a work once discovered becomes again lost. The publisher of Ravandi's‡ work established the fact that the "Seljuq Namah" of Zahirud-d-Din Nishapuri compiled under the last Seljuqid Sultan of Persia Taghrul (1177-1194) was the sole written source of that author. It is quite probable that this work existed as a manuscript of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, No. 138, described in its time in Morley's catalogue (1854), but now it is to be considered lost, according to the information received by me from the library of that Society.

* E. Burneuf, *Commentaire sur le Yaena*, p. ii.

† Grundriss, ii, 41.

‡ For the contents see the Grundriss, ii, 18.

Among the works of universal* history, compiled in the 12th century, we may mention an anonymous work, entitled "A collection of chronicles and stories". *Mujmilu-t-tawarikhnama-l-qisas*)† written in 1126; and preserved in an only manuscript (1410 A. D.) At the end of it, an account of an event which took place in the year 1153 is added. The interest of this work for European investigators lies in the data derived from Arabic sources, it gives on the Persian‡ epic the chapters on India and on the Turkish nations offer also a certain interest. The history of Muslim Persia is given in a very brief form.

The last consideration holds good in general with regard to the Persian historical literature of the pre-Mongolian period. The work by Abu-l-Fazl Bayhaqi§ is probably the only exception. It would be quite impossible to compile a history of Persia

* Ostir Kultur, 169.

† Ibid, 177, "ich beginne mit dem Gathas" dem einzigen Feil des Awesta, der, so recht, eigentlich aus der Gegenwart schpöft und die gegenwertigen Verhältnisse Schildert.

‡ For the names of the scholars representing the different points of view, see Grundriss ii, 43.

§ Ibid, ii, 37, 410, and 622. The words of Edw. Meyer (Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, II, 71

of the pre-Mongolian* period from Persian works, without having recourse to Arabic sources. Equally brief and inaccurate is the information, both as regards the history of the earlier dynasties and the history of culture,—as for instance, the biographical information† regarding literary and religious authors. Several works, belonging to that domain, constitute the contents of the five volumes of the series. “The Persian historical‡ texts” published in England, from 1901 to 1907, and which, as far as I know, have no sequel.

The Persian historical literature took on a quite different character from the 13th century onward. Besides the events, which took place during

note 1.) regarding the “Unbegreiflichkeiten, die sich auf diesen Gebiet besonders stark, und verhängnisvoll, geltend gemacht haben fully well express the state of things with regard to that question.

* For it see E.G. Browne, Lit. Hist. II, 55.

† Sir J. Malcolm, History of persia, 1815, cf. for instance the approximation of Kay-Qubad and Deiokes, I, 215 & 247.

‡ Grundriss, II, 66-71, Lit. Hist. I, 59-64, in Russian, B. Turaev, “History of the ancient East”, I, 34 ff. V.P. Buzeskul, “New Discoveries of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in the domain of the history of the ancient world, 1923, I, 115-119.

the reign of Masud the Gaznavid, the campaigns of Chingizkhan are most probably the first event in Muslim history, of which detailed accounts in Persian have reached us. In the same year (1260) were compiled in India the Universal history of Minhajud-Din Yuzjani known under the title of "Nasirs Tables" (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*). The work is dedicated to the Sultan of Delhi, Nasirud-Din Mahmud Shah (1246-1275), and in Western Persia, or in Baghdad the History of the Mongol invasion by Ala-ud-Din Ata-Malik Yuwayni. The former has been published and translated only in part. The part, translated into English, is moreover considerably larger than that which has been published. That work gives as little information, regarding the dynasties of Muslim Persia, as other similar works. More detailed information is always given about the history of the country, of which the author is a native (Ghur, in Afghanistan). Still more details are given about the Mongol conquests, especially in Afghanistan. The *Tabarkat-i-Nasiri* translated by Raverty, London 1881.

Yuwayni, who was in the service of the Mongolian conquerors of Persia, devoted his work especially to the history of the Mongols. The first volume contains the history of Chingiz-Khan, his two first successors, and a brief account of the States,

which were under the rule of his two eldest sons. The second volume, the history of the Kharizm-Shahs, upto the conquest of the Eastern part of Iran, by the Mongols and Mongolian rulers. The third volume—the history of the events, after the year 1251, and the history of the conquest by the Mongols in 1256 of the Ismaili State; in certain manuscripts, a chapter is added on the conquest of Baghdad (1258) by the Mongols, which, as it is supposed, was compiled by the astronomer, Nasiru-d-Din Tusi* (who died in 1274, sometime before Yuwayni).† In spite of all the criticism to which Yuwayni has been subjected, on the part of the European investigators, on account of his most florid style and his flattery,‡ as regards the Mongolian conquerors, his work, by the completeness, and preciseness, of its information, was certainly superior to the earlier works of Persian historians. It is an indispensable source, unrivalled for the study of the Mongol conquests. We know only from Yuwayni's

* B.A. Turaev, *History of the Ancient East*, ii, 210. For the former opinion, see, for instance, Justi, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Völker im Altertum* (1884) 396.

† About other excavations at Suza, see the above-mentioned Dieulafoy and in general all literature previous to 1893, *Grundriss*, II, 457.

‡ *History of the Ancient East*, I, 52.

§ ZDMG, XXXIX, 331–351.

work about the activities of certain Mongolian detachments.

Amongst others, Edw. G. Browne* wrote about the injustice of the attacks on Yuwayni and on the necessity of the publication of his work, and devoted to Yuwayni, besides several pages of his "Literary history of Persia", a special article and expressed at that time, his intention of including Yuwayni's work in the series of "Persian historical texts", which was being published by him. That plan did not materialise, but, at a later date, Yuwayni's work, found a place in another series, viz. the E.G.W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XVI. The Editor† (a learned Persian, Mirza Muhamad Qazwini) collected with due attention in the preface (the English translation of the same has been made by Edw. G. Browne)‡ the available information, about the author and his work, collated carefully different manuscripts, but did not possess the necessary erudition for establishing the correct spellings§ of proper names, especially Mongolism, and thus, in that respect his work cannot satisfy the demands of

* Aufsätze-Zur persischen Geschichte.

† Aufsätze, vi, "Mich haben ebed meine orientalischen Studion immer mehr zum Griechenfreunde gemacht.

‡ ZDMG, 43, (1889) 550-554.

§ "Wilder Eroberer" (Aufsätze, 20).

a "critical edition." No translation of Yuwayni's work, not even an abridged one, has so far appeared. Only separate chapters of it have been translated.

Yuwayni's continuator was the historian* Wassy in the 14th century, who began his work in the spring of 1300, finished the first four parts, and presented them to the Sultan in 1312, and later on, in 1328, annexed to them a fifth part. His work is brought down to the year 1319.† Wassaf's work has a still more rhetorical style than that of Yuwayni and the use of it is in consequence extremely wearisome for a European reader. At the same time, however it contains a great deal of interesting information, based on facts. According to Edw. G. Browne's‡ remark (put somewhat in-

* Aufsätze, 34 ff.

† Recently the opinion of Edw. Meyer was repeated with some exaggerations by M.I. Restevzev (Hellenism) and Iranism in the south of Russia, 1918, p 41) who ascribed to Darius the intention "to cross with two armies the Black Sea Coast, from East to West and to return, if successful, across, the Caucasus." No source contains, unless I am very much mistaken, any allusion to such an such an intention the part of Darius.

‡ *Frois ans on Asie*, 1859 (2nd edition, 1905) *Los Religion et les Philosophiesdanr l'Asie Centrale* 1865) (3rd edition) 1900, Especially unsuccessful in the last

generously), "we should have more willingly forgiven the author were his work less available as an original source for the period, to which it is devoted but in fact, it is as important as unreadable."* A complete lithographical edition of Wassaf's work was published in Bombay (1853) but only the first part has appeared in a European edition, and translation *Hammer-Purgstall, Geschite, Wassaf Wien 1856.*

For the fifth part of his work, Wassaf was able to use "the collection of Annals" (Yami-ut-Tawarikh of Rashid-ud-Din, which is the last word in Persian historiography. A medical man by profession, Rashid-ud-Din, in his 60th year, became the historian of the Mongolian ruler of Persia Ghazan-Khan (1295-1304), in his 70th, he became the theologian of his brother, and successor, the Sultan Uljaytu (1304-1316). At the same time, he was actually at the head of the Mongolian† administration in Persia. During the rule of the next, Sultan Abu:Saïd, he was charged with having poisoned Uljaytu, and executed in 1318. Ghazan-Khan entrusted him with the compilation of the history of the Mongols,

work is the attempt to prove the existence of a close relationship between Shi'ism and Parsyism.

* *Histoire des Perses*, 1869.

† See for instance, Browne, *Lit. Hist.* I. 212.

besides, Persian sources, and, especially, the work of Yuwayni,* he made use for his work of the Mongolian official chronicles kept in the Khan's treasury, and called. "The Golden Book" (Altyn-Daptar). Only the members of the royal family and the most distinguished Mongolian nobles had access to it. Rashidu-d-Din was able to use it, as well as other Mongolian chronicles, owing to the nobleman Pulad, who arrived from China in 1286 on a mission from his king and remained in Persia, against the will of the latter. Pulad was considered to be the greatest authority on Mongolian tradition. A considerable part of the work was devoted to events, which took place during the author's life, in some of which, he even must himself have taken part, as the history is brought down to the death of Ghazan-Khan. The author entered Government service, during the reign of Abaza-Khan (1265-1282). Whenever he had to use Persian written sources, abstracts were made for him by other persons. One of these co-workers "Abdullah-Kashani" calls himself in another work the author of the "Collection of Annals" and accuses Rashidu-d-Din of appropriating the work of another. But the style of Abdullah Kashani is similar to that of Rashidu-d-

* C. Markham, A general sketch of the history of Persia, 1874.

Din. Only where they both have been using written sources and, according to the custom of mediaeval compilers, had copied their text, almost without any alteration. Wherever they speak about events of their own time, they write in quite a different style. Abdullah Kashani* is an historian by profession. His style corresponds to the traditions of Persian historiography of the 13th century,† Rashid-d-Din, whether he avails himself of the Mongolian traditions, or writes about events personally known to himself, narrates them in the simplest style, without any of that "flourish",‡ which was required by the rules of Persian eloquence. He annexed later on to the history of the Mongols that of India, of Turkish peoples of China, of the Hebrews and of the Franks (Europeans). That part was compiled with the help of such representatives of these peoples as were considered to be experts in the history of their compatriots. There are mentioned amongst them the Kashmirian hermit Kamalashri and two Chinese scholars. Further on he added to this the history of the Ismail sect before the conquest of their castles by the Mongols in 1256, and

* Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.

† Geschichte des Alterthums, II. Teil I.

‡ Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine, *ibid*, the bibliography of the subject.

finally the history of Persia and of the Muslim world based on Muslim written sources. In this last part of his work Rashid-d-d-Din was, of course, merely a compiler. The order of the compilation of the "Collection of Annals" is determined by dates mentioned in the text. During the recopying of the work, a somewhat different order was obviously followed, although the order of chapters and even that of volumes varies different manuscripts and it is difficult to tell from the copies which have reached us, whether any definite recension of Rashid-ud-d-Din's work was ever made. The last volume ought to have contained a geographical supplement with a description of all the existing trade-routes, of the Mongolian empire. There is reason to suppose that, that particular volume was never compiled.

As a body of historical material, Rashid-ud-Din's* work is a unique phenomenon of its kind

* I understand from S. A. Zhebelev that Edw. Meyer calls "a fragment from the Hellenika of theopompus" an anonymous historical manuscript, the author of which is also known from the place where the manuscript was found (1906) as the "Anonymus of Ozyrhynch (which is a city in Upper Egypt). Against the belonging of this fragment, to Theopompus, speaks also according to S.A. Zhebelev, the characteristic of Theopompus by

in the literature of the world. Neither before him, nor afterwards, has any attempt been made to compile a body of historical information about all nations from the Atlantic Ocean* to the Pacific, with the collaboration of representatives of the separate nations. Such a work was bound to contribute† to the widening of the historical horizons. Abdullah Kashani,‡ Rashidu-d-Din's collaborator expresses that opinion that the history of the Arabs and the Persians is merely one of the rivers, falling into the sea of world history, whilst European scholars, even nowa-

his contemporaries as a brilliant stylist, which cannot be noticed from the Oxyrhynch mss. The same fragments were ascribed by other scholars to Kratippos, then the opinion was emitted that they might belong to Ephorus, with regard to the later see, S.A. Zhebelev, *Ancient Greece*, I, 27 ff. About the Oxyrhynch anonymous, see *Hellenica*, *Oxyreynchia cum Theopempi, et. Cratippi fragments*, recogn. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Kunt, 1909, (Scriptorum class. Bibliotheca, Oxoniensis) *Egypt Exploration Fund Græco-Roman Branch. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* part xii, 1919.

* *Klio*, ix (1909) 268-273.

† E.H. Minus, *Parchements of the Parthian Period from Avroman in Kurdistan* (from *Hellenica*, xxxv, 1915)

‡ In the words of F.H. Weissbach (*Die Keilinschriften am grabe des Darius Hystaspis*, 4) *eigenartiges und wertvolles ethnologischs Museum*.

days, have very often the tendency to understand under the term of world-history solely the history of the Romano-Germanic world. As regards the problem of historical criticism, the author, or more correctly the editor of the "Collection of Annals" was wholly unaware of such a thing. He also had little thought of presenting a general picture of the world history. His sole object was to give an account of the traditions of every people in the way they were narrated by representatives of these peoples, being true to his purpose, he narrated traditions, which were quite opposed to the Muslim creed, and he made no concessions to the literary tastes of his epoch.

A rather extensive literature already exists in connection with the "Collection of Annals". Nevertheless, we still have no complete edition of that work, and many questions connected with it, are not sufficiently elucidated. Thus, Edw. G. Browne declares that the historian Banakiti, who wrote in 1317, completed Rashi-du-d-Din's work by adding some new information.* As an example are men-

* An attempt to use for ethnographical purposes the shapes of the heads of different nationalities was made as early as 1866 by Khanikov in his "Memoire sur l'ethnographies de la Perse" (for it see below) where (p.68) one finds even the expression "veritable galern ethnographique."

tioned, a piece of information, regarding the history of Europe, and a story about book-printing in China.* In reality, these stories are borrowed from Rashidu-d-Din and Banakiti's work is only a summary of the "Collection of Annals". The publishing of Rashidu-d-Din's† work has been undertaken several times, but has never been brought to completion. A part of the history of the Mongols, viz. the history of the Mongolian state in Persia, was intended to form a part in a magnificent series, planned under Louis-Phillippe "*Collection Orientale‡ Manuscripts ineditis de la Bibliotheque Royale traduits et publies par ordre du Roi*". Quatremere was entrusted with the execution of that work. In 1836 appeared the first volume, containing the text and a translation of the preface of Rashidu-d-Din and the history of the reign of Hutagu (1256-1265). At the beginning of the volume was placed a classical (like all Quatremere's works) investigation as to the life and works of Rashidu-d-Din *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse ecrite en Persan par*

* About it see S.A. Zhebelev, Ancient Rome, part ii. The Imperial period, (1923) 121.

† Einleitung, etc. III2, 301, das zu Einführung empfohlen worden kann.

‡ Einleitung, etc. III2, 298-306.

Raschid-eddin publice, traduite en français, accompagnée de notes et d'un mémoire sur la vie et les avarages de l'auteur par M. Quatremere§.*

Of Russian scholars, Y. N. Berezin made up his mind to publish and to translate "The History of the Mongol". That edition formed part of the "Works of the Oriental section of the Russian Archaeological Society". There were published first, the translation, then the text of the introduction (concerning Turkish and Mongolian tribes) and, afterwards, the text and the translation together of the history of Chingiz-Khan in two volumes. After that, publications and the translation of the work were stopped, although in 1870, in Dugas, "*Histoire des Orientalistes de l'Europe*", Berezin's biography contains the statement that the whole of the history of Chingiz-Khan and his successors upto the history of the Persian Mongols was translated by him. "The Collection of Annals", "The History of the Mongols" by Rashidu-d-Din in the Works of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, parts v (1858), vii (1861), xiii (1868) and xv (1888).

* About his "History of Hellenism" see S.A. Zhebelev, "Ancient Greece", Part II, Hellenism" (1922) 101 ff.

§ Einleitung, etc. III2, 303, "Die Aufnahme aller persischen Bauten."

Finally in 1903,* the question of the publication of Rashidu-d-Din's Work, this time, without any translation, was again raised by publishers of the Gift Memorial Series. E. Blochet was charged with this edition; but it was decided to have published first, the second volume (the history of Chingiz-Khan's successors in Mongolia, Central Asia and China upto the beginning of the 14th century), as the parts, which had to be included in the first volume (the introduction and the history of Chingiz-Khan) had already been published by Berezin. Upto the beginning of the year 1908, as many as 21 folios of that volume were in proofs. The whole volume (617 pages of the text with detailed notes and 72 annexed pieces) did not appear before 1911 (Vol. xiii of the Series). A year before the editor published, also in the Gift Memorial Series (Vol. xii) as an introduction to that edition, a rather unsuccessful investigation on the "History of the Mongols".

After that, the enterprise† stopped. At present, as I am informed, the editors of the Gift Memorial Series are trying to take it up again, and have

* Grundriss, II, 579.

† E. Flandin et. P. Coste, Voyage on Prese pendant, 1840-1, (1843-54) II, 203, is quoted by J. Menant Les Achemernides et. le inscriptions de la Perse 1872 90, where mistakenly I 230.

transmitted* the charge of the edition to another person on account of Blochet's refusal to continue the same.

For Persian historiography,† Rashidu-d-Din's work could not have remained without influence, but it had no such results, as might have been expected from it. Towards the beginning‡ of the 14th century, the literary tastes were firmly established, in such a way, that in a historical work, its completeness and genuineness occupied only the second place, whilst the primary object§ was its outward literary form. The above-mentioned imitations of Firdusi's "Shah-Nameh", which existed in the pre-Mongolian period as well, although these have not come down to us, are especially characteristic of that trend of mind. Thus a "Shah-in-Shah Nameh".§ in honour of the Kharizmshah Muhammad (1200-1220) is mentioned. After the 14th century, these attempts became more frequent. Thus Rashidu-d-Din's work produced no less than four rhymed chronicles, devo-

* F. Sarrk und E. Herzfeld, *Iranischen Felsreliefs*, 4.

† *Der Islam*, xi, 133.

‡ *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of the history of material culture*, II, 371. ff.

§ *Die Kunst der Islamischen Volker*, 1915, Chura Senische *Baudankmaler*, 1918.

§ *Denkmaler persischer Baukunst*, 1910.

ted partly to the history of the Muslim World,* up to the time of the Mongols, partly, and more particularly to the history of the Mongols; but they did not possess any poetical merits.

The author† of one of those rhymed chronicles Hamdullah Qazwini is at the same time, the author of two other works§ one geographical, the other historical. His historical work, "The Choice History" is brought up to the year 1329. Edw. G. Brown intended to publish it in his series of "Persian historical texts",‡ as an "excellent historical manual". Later on, it was included in the Gibb Memorial Series,§ and this time, Edw. G. Brown, calls it a "useful compendium" of Persian and Islamic history. Hamdullah Qazwini° is somewhat

* The Kauffmann Memorial Volume, 1910, 161-170 (article by N.N. Pantusev.)

† The picture of the mosque has been published several times, see, for instance, S.F. Oldenburg, Materials for Buddhist eikonography of Kharakhote, 1914, 5.

§ Journal des Savants, fevr. 1911, 54-69.

‡ Ibid, 3. note. 3.

§ A literary-history of Persia. The first two volumes I from the Earliest times until Firdausi, 1902. 2 from Firdausi, to Sa'di 1906 found place in the series "The Library of Literary History."

° A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, Cambridge, 1920.

dependent on Rashidu-d-Din. but not to such a degree as Banakiti, with whom Edw. G. Browne compares him in that respect. He uses sometimes other sources, when he is dealing with the history of pre-Mongolian dynasties. In the chapter devoted* to the Mongols, in spite of the conciseness of his narration, he now and again gives some interesting† information, which cannot be found in Rashidu-d-Din's§ work. The Gibb Memorial Series (Vol. xiv, parts I and II) besides publishing the text, contains also an abridged translation. Nevertheless, the information given by Edw. G. Browne, about the "Choice History",‡ both in the preface to his edition and translation of the same, and at a later time, in his "History of Persian literature"§ remains incomplete. When enumerating the chapters, which were accessible in the printed editions before 1910, Edw. G. Browne

* On the subject of the later Modern Persian literature a special work was published in 1914, by E. G. Browne, "Press and Poetry of modern Persia" upto quite recent times has been brought the small book by R. Levy, *Persian, Literature*, oxf. 1923 compiled chiefly from Browne, see the review by F. Rosen in *OLZ*, 26 1923 509-511.

† I. 212.

§ cf. especially I, 210, ff. II, 426 ff.

‡ *History of Pers. Lit.* 17.

§ A volume of orient. studies, etc. 198.

does not mention, either the chapter about the Samanids published by Shefer, nor the chapter about the Seljuqs, translated by Defremery. Edw. G. Browne was also not aware of the fact that Hamdullah Qazwini did in the course of time complete his work up to the year 741 (1340-1) and that his son Zaynu-d-Din* continued his father's work up to the conquest of Persia by Timur. While publishing the text, Edw. G. Browne confined himself to a facsimile reproduction of one single manuscript, which is far from being the best of the existing manuscripts, although the number of manuscripts, according to his words, is considerable. Probably, the best one amongst them (it seems the only one, which contains the sequel to the worse, as completed by the author himself and by his son) is to be found in the library of the University† of Leningrad (No. 153).

The historico-geographical work of the same author "The delight of the hearts" (Nuzhatu-l-Qutub) compiled in 1339 represents a still wider interest. Like all Persian geographers, Hamdullah Qazwini used largely the Arabic geographical‡ litera-

* Treis ans on asié, 157.

† Th. Lindner. Weltgeschichte, II, 98, About that work see the Muslim world in Russian 86 ff.

‡ cf. my article in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental studies, II, 836.

ture of the 10th century, but contrary to the practice of many other authors, even Arabs, he completes and corrects the text of his predecessors, basing himself on the information of his own time. The information given by him, as regards trade-routes,* and the productiveness of individual districts, both under the Mongols and the Seljuqi, is of great interest. He used an official description of the country, composed during the reign of Sultan Malje-Shah (1072-1092) which has not come down to us. The work of Hamdullah Qazwini,† like many other works (as for instance, the work of the Arabic author of the 13th century, Zakariya Qazwini was divided into two parts, a cosmographical and a geographical. The text and the translation of the geographical part have been included in the Jibb Memorial Series (V.xxii parts I & II). The monetary system of the Monoglian period has remained obscure for the translator (*G. Le Strange*) here as in other works, and, in consequence, his notes to the translation may deceive the reader.

Earlier the text was accessible only in the Oriental lithographed edition. Separate chapters,

* P. M. Sykes, *A Hist. of Persia*.

† Proceedings of the Russian Geographical society LIII, (1917) 182-186. The review was printed without my reading the proofs and is disfigured by numerous misprints.

dealing with Persia, were, moreover, published by Shefer in the above mentioned (p. 69) supplement to his edition of the work of the Wazir Nizamu-l-Mulk.*

The development of Persian historiography was still more furthered by the events, which took place at the end of the 14th century, and at the beginning of the 15th century, connected with the formation of the Empire of Timur (Tamerlane) and his descendants. Three versions of the official history compiled by Timur's order have reached us, but the last, definitive version belongs to a somewhat later period. The author of that work Sharafu-d-Din wrote more than 20 years after the death of Timur and dedicated his work to Timur's grandson. Only the first version in its whole was published in Russia (in the West, it is almost unknown). The question of its relation to the second and the third versions has been circumstantially:— examined in the prefaces by the publisher, (the late L. A. Zimin) and the editor. "The Book of the Victory" (Zater-Nama) by Sharafu d-Din was published in India without the author's preface, devoted to the review of the history of the Mongol state. There exists an obsolete French translation made in the 18th century, in which the author's preface is also omitted.

* cf. The Muslim World (in Russian) 80.

Besides that chief official history, which very often acquired, especially in its final version, the character of a panegyric, there are several other works,* which were written for the earlier descendants of Timur,† and have been preserved for the most part, only in one or two manuscripts, the names of their authors being moreover not always known. Amongst all that literature "the most important are the historico-geographical work by Hafiz-Abru‡ (incomplete and bearing no title) and the historical work by the same author, compiled during the second and third decades of the 15th century, and which both are, in some way, as was the work of Rashidu.d-Diu§ in its time—a digest of the totality

* Der Islam, viii, 214-227 (article by S. Flury)

† The article by Fr. Rosen, "Der Einfluss geistiger Strömungen auf die politische Geschichte Persiens" (ZDMG LXXVI, 101-125) published in 1922, has no great scientific importance. For the newest political history of Persia, one could quote besides the book by Browne, the Persian Revolution of 1905-1909 Cambridge, 1910.

‡ Stand und Aufgaben der Geschichtsforschung in Turkestan (Die Geisteswiss 1075-1080).

§ C. d'Chsson, Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchingiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour, Bey en Tamerlan. The first edition of the first volume was published as far back as 1624. Regarding that work and the relation of later works to the same see my "Turkistan" II, 60 ff.

of the historical material, which was known in Persia, at that epoch. From the few data, brought to light, up to the present, it is possible to consider it as an established fact that Hafiz-i-Abru* wrote in the first instance, not later than 1414, a chronicle on the first years of the reign of Shahrukh (1405-1413) in his introduction to which he gave also an outline of the reign of Timur. In 1414, or 1415, he was commissioned to translate an Arabic geographical work and to complete it from other sources. That was the origin of his anonymous geographical work, in which the religions of the Muslim World are described, more or less, in the same order as that adopted by most of the Arab geographers of the 10th century: Arabia, the Indian Ocean, Africa, Spain, the Mediterranean islands, Egypt, Syria, and the regions of Hither (?) Asia and Persia, from West to East. In the last four chapters, dealing with Fars, Kerman, Khorasan, and Mavatrnaht, a historical description of each of these regions is annexed to the respective geographical descriptions of the same.

Most of the existing manuscripts of that work end with the chapter on Khorasan, which was

* See especially his article in the JA. II, xv, (1920) 130 ff.

compiled in 1420. One of the existing manuscripts (in Oxford) contains also the geographical description of Mavarrnahr, composed in the same year. An historical sketch of Mavrranahr ought to have followed it, but it is missing in that manuscript and it is not known, whether it ever was written at all.

Whilst the compilation* of that work was still going on, the author was entrusted in 1417 with the composition of a compendium on world-history. He included in it i. e. copied to the letter, Tabari's work in Balami's† recension, which was brought up to 908, a passage from Rashidu-Din's work, on the Abbasid Caliphs, from 908 upto the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258. The remaining part of Rashidu-d-Din's work, which he divided into 2 volumes: (1) the history of the Mongols‡ up to the period of 1304. (2) Universal history, comprising first the history of Muslim dynasties, then the history of the Turks, the Chinese, the Hebrews, the Franks,§ and the Indians. Finally, the history of Timur in its second recension, which belonged to

* v. Supra not 4, p. 13.

† ZDMG, XXXVIII, 235 ff.

‡ Materials for the history of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, I, 337.

§ "Syn Otechestna" and "Severny Archiv" v. XLIX (1835) 271-290, 332-348, 383-404.

the pen of Nizamu-d-Din Shami, and was brought up to 1403. To all this Hafiz-i-Abru adjoins from his own works: (1) as a sequel to Rashidu-d-Din's work-a history of the Mongolian state in Persia from the year 1304 up to the time of Timur (2) as a sequel to Nizamu-d-Din's work a-history of the last years of the reign of Timur, and that of Shahrukh up to 1416.

In 1423, Hafiz-i-Abru* started to compose an original work on Universal History dedicated by him to the son of Shahrukh, the learned prince Baisonghur, but this time, while writing about the the first period, he did not confine himself to using only the "Persian Tabari"† but availed himself of other sources, as well. This work known under the name of the "Cream of Annals"‡ (Zubdatu-t-tawarikh, or else (in quotations) also as "The col-

* Versuch einer geschichte der Schirwanshahe (Mem. de l. Acad. etc. sciences politiques. etc. 6 me serie, t. iv, livre, 6, -1841-.

† Geschichte Shirwans unter den Statthaltern und Chanen von 1538-1620 vorzuglich nachpersischen Quellen (ibid. t. v. livr. 3 & 4.)

‡ A brief course of the history of Azarbaijan with a supplementary excursus on the history of the Shirvan-shahs, II, 14 cc. Baku, 1923, (for private circulation only.)

lection of Annals" (Magma-u-t-tawarikh)* was divided into four volumes. The first one contained pre-Islamic history, the second the history of Muham-mud and the Caliphs,† the third the history of the Eastern Islamic and Mongolian dynasties; the fourth fell into two sections—the history of Timur and the history Shahrukh.‡ Up to this time, the third volume and the first part of the second have not been found. The second part of the fourth volume is of great interest. It is preserved in a single and, moreover, very indifferent manuscript in Oxford, from which it can be seen that the last event, which Hafiz-i-Abru§ (he died in 1430) lived to relate, was the attempt on the life of Shahrukh, on the 21st of February,§ 1427. The last folios of that manuscript which contained an account of further events of the same year (the text breaks off in the middle of the word), belong to an unknown continuator, who wrote, also, while Shahrukh°

* Mem. etc. 7 me Serie, t. x. xiii, No. 1. 1875.

† Preceedings of the Academy of Sciences. v. xxvi, supplement No. 1 (1875).

‡ Ibid. v. III, supplement, No. 5.

§ Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres. LPZ. 1868.

§ Materials for the history of the Faculty, I, 335 ff.

° Ibid. 343 ff.

was still alive, i.e. upto 1447. Hafiz-i-Abru's* work has served as the chief source of Abdu-r-Razzaq† Samarqandi, who was the author of a work, compiled in the second half of the 15th century, and entitled "The Place of Rising‡ of two lucky constellations and the place of the function of two seas" (Matlau-s-sadayan wa Majman-l-bahrayn) containing the history of the events which took place from 1304 to 1471, and divided into two volumes, the one dealing with events, which happened before the death of Timur, and the other treating of the events after his death.

In the compilation§ of chronicles, during the 15th century, the system of Annals was widely adopted, which was, in the pre-Islamic period, one of the chief features of Arabian historiography, as opposed to the system prevalent in Persia.§ The

* JA, 6, vii (1866) 101-288.

† Proceedings of the third international congress of Orientalists I, (1879-80) 33-70.

‡ These fragments are enumerated, for instance, by S. F. Oldenburg in his Biography of Rossovitch (A biographical Dictionary of the professors of the University of St. Petersburg, 1869-1894, I, 332 ff.)

§ See the observations by Edw. Meyer, Geschichte des Alterthums, I, 497 (3410) and III, 4 (31).

§ Severally in the grundriss, see Index.

later Persian historians remained mostly faithful to this system, especially so the authors of historical works, dealing with individual reigns (in Persia, India and Central Asia). Sometimes, events were not recorded after the years of the Muslim lunar era, but after the Turkish duadecimal (solar) animal cycle (the order of years, the Mouse, the Bull, the Leopard, the Hare, the Crocodile, the Snake, the Horse, the Sheep, the Monkey, the Fowl, the Dog* and the Hag), as for instance, in the history of Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1628) compiled by Iskander Munshi. The author says, that in his time, reckoning by years of the Muslim era was unintelligible for the great mass of the population of Persia. Still more often, the cycle-era was made use of in historical works, written in Turkestan. Sometimes, dates of both eras are mentioned together whenever, there is a contradiction between the two dates, one has to take it that the mistake lies in the Muslim† date, because the population was much better acquainted with the era of the cycle.‡

* e. g. *Saratuſtricae Gatae Posteriores tres*, 1871, Praef. p. xviii, where, the author merely repeats Spiegel's arguments.

† It is characteristic that this publication does not contain any chapter on the history of Modern Persian literature although it contains chapters on the History of Arabic and Turkish-Ottoman-literature.

‡ B. A. Turaev, *History of the Ancient East*. II, (1914) 213.

Works on Universal history were written more seldom in the form of Annals. An exception to the rule is the collective work, compiled in India, by order of the Emperor Akbar* (1556-1605) on the occasion of the approaching millennium of Islam, and therefore called "Tarikh-i-Alfi"† ("The Millenary History"). Events were narrated, not according to the era of Muhammad's‡ flight from Mecca to Medina, but, according to the era of the Prophet's death introduced by Akbar, in connection with his plans of religious reform, which provoked a certain animosity, towards Islam. Reckoning by that era, the narrative is brought up to 974 (lunar chronology) i. e. upto 984 of the Hijra (1576-7) the Millenary§ of Islam was, however, completed only in 1592. The compilation of that chronicle began in 1585.

* Ibid, 206.

† About its influence on P. I. Lerkh see Biogr Dict. Prof. Univ, St. Pet. 1869-1894, I, 392.

‡ Journ. Min. Publ. Instr. Part XC, -1856- Sect. V, 59-140. The article originally was published in French in 1852, in the Bulletin hist-phil. t. ix, No. 15, "Essai pour eclaireir, au meyen de l 'histoire compares, la question de l' influence des Iraniens sur les destinees de la rase semitique" Many additions have been made in its Russian translation -97-140- A mention in made -124 ff.- of the influence this article had on the views of Renan.

§ Zapiski, XXIV, 145-193.

In works on Universal history, events were narrated for the most part in the old manner, that is to say, not in a strictly annual form, but in the order of dynasties. Amongst such works, the best known work, both in the East and in Europe, was that by Mir-khwanand (died in 1498). "The Garden of Purity about the Life of the Prophets, the Kings and the Caliphs" (*Rawadatu's-Sofa'i sirati-l-anbiya-wa-l-muluk-wa-i-khulafa*). The work is divided into seven volumes (1) pre Islamic History, (2) Muhammad and the four first Caliphs (3) the twelve Shia Imams. the Omayyads and the Abbasids, (4) dynasties contemporary with the Abbasids, especially in Persia and in India, (5) the Mongolian empire, (6) Timur and the Timurids upto 1469 : (7) the reign of Sultan Husayn (1469-1506) in the time of Mirkhwanand, a geographical supplement is annexed to the end of the work. According to Rieu, the 6th volume must have been compiled before all the rest, the year 879 (1474-5) being mentioned there as the date of its compilation. The 7th volume was merely begun Mir Khwand and belongs for the greater part to the pen of his grandson, Khwand Amir, Khwand Amir's hand has certainly also been active in the compilation of the geographical supplement, which was written by Mir Khwand in 900 (1494-5).

Mir Khwand's* work has been several times lithographed in the East (in Teheran, Bombay and Lucknow). No complete edition or translation has been made of it in Europe. A list of European editions and translations of its separate chapters was compiled by Elliot.† It can be seen from that list, that several chapters have been published and translated twice, as, for instance, the chapter about the Samanids into Latin in 1808, and into French in 1845. The French translator, however, points out Mir Khwand's‡ superficiality as historian.

Quotations from Mir Khwand are generally made very often in European literature and only recently, since the publication of several of his sources, do they begin to be replaced by quotations from earlier authors.§ Mir Khwanad's com-

* cf. the biography of Khanikov compiled by N. I. Vosselovsky for the Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron; a list of Khanikevo's articles published in the 6th series of the JAs. -Vs. ii, ix, xi, xiii- can be found in the index to that series. JAs. 6, xx, 1872 374 ff. See also *Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de M. F. Bresset*, index. s. v. "Khanykof" and E. J. Kozubsky. A note-book of the "Dagestan district" -1895- Index.

† Proceedings, etc. II, 168-176.

‡ JA. 5, xx, 57-155.

§ K. Ritter, Iran, p. I, translated with additions by N. V. Khanykov, St. Pet. 1874.

pilation is, however, still of some importance, even in our days, because some of the sources used by him have since been lost. Thus, we do not find, anywhere, in the work of any of the earlier authors, such a detailed account of the campaign of Utugh-Bek, against the Mongols in 1425, as the one given by Mir Khwand. The fact, that Mir Khwand's work has been translated into Osmanli-Turkish and into Central-Asian Turkish, bears testimony to its great popularity, in the East, even as late as the 19th century. Amongst Persian historians of our days, Riza Qutu Khan Lalabashi has continued the work of Mir Khwand in his "Nasir's Garden of Purity" (Rawdatu-s-safa-i-Nasiri) written, for Nasiru-d-Din Shah 1848-1896. This sequel to Mir Khwand's work occupies three volumes (8th, 9th and 10th) and brought upto the year 1853.

Not so frequently as the work of Mir Khwand, but still very often are quoted the works of his grandson, KhwandAmir. Amongst them: "The Essence of Information in the exposition of the circumstances of virtuous men" (Khulasatu-l-akhtarfi bayani ahwali-l-akhyar,* was written by the author in the time of his youth in 909 (1499-1500), and represents an abridgement of his grandfather's work. It

* The road-journal of the Turko-Persian boundary, commission 1849-1892.

has an introduction, ten sections (maqala) and a conclusion. The latter contains a description of Herat, where the author lived at that time, and some biographical information regarding his contemporaries. One of the chapters of that work, devoted to the Mongols, has been translated into Russian by V. Grigoriev.* Another work by Khwand-Amir is of great importance. It is called "The Friend of Biographies in the records about prominent men." (Habibu-s-siyar fi al-htari afradi-l-bashar). It is divided into 3 volumes (mujallad) each volume containing 4 sections (juz). A geographical supplement is placed at the end. The first volume is brought up to the time of the four first Caliphs, the second up to the advent of the Mongols, the third up to 1524 A.D. This work, lithographed in Persia and India, is really interesting, chiefly because it gives biographical information regarding literary and other notables of every reign. Of other compilations on Universal history, may be mentioned the

* Syiahat-Nama-i-Hudud. A description of a journey along the Turko-Persian frontier compiled by Khurshid Effendi, former secretary of the Turkish commissioner in charge of the demarcation between Turkey and Persia. Together with a report by the Persian Commissioner regarding the same journey. Published by the Milit. Educ. Comm. Gen. Staff, 1877.

"Substance of Chronicles" (Labbu-t-tawarikh) by Amir Yahya Qazwini* written in 1542, and brought upto the same year. It is divided into four parts: (1) Muhammad and the twelve Shiya Imams. (2) pre-Islamic kings, (3) Muslim† rulers (4) the Safavids. That work was one of the first, if not actually the first Persian work, which became known in Europe. Pietro de la Valle, who stayed in Persia from 1617 to 1623, translated it into Italian under the title: "Midolla delle istore" in 1783, it appeared in a Latin translation, under the title "Medulla Historiarum".

Sources for the history of Persia from the 16th century to the 19th century‡ are as vast and numerous, as they are little-systematised, and investigated, only a few years ago, the very existence was not known of a work in three volumes by Muhammad Kazim Wazir of the Metropolitan city of Merv, containing the history of Nadir-Shah (1736-1747),§ and yet that work compiled by a contemporary of the Shah, as regards the wealth of information contained therein, is by far superior to all other works on the history of that reign, in-

* For it see the "Zapiski" xxii, p. xxv ff.

† "Zapiski" xviii, 113-232.

‡ "Zapiski" xxiii, 133-166.

§ "Zapiski" xxiv, 29-32.

cluding even the best known of all such works,* the history by Mahdi-Khan translated into French and English† in the 18th century. Amongst the works on the history of the Qajar dynasty, that of Abdu-r-Razzaq Bek‡ "The Royal illustrious acts" (Ma-athir-i-Sultaniyya)§ has been translated into English. The original, published in 1241 (1825-26)§ (the work itself is brought up to the same year was the first book printed in Persia.

European historiography° has little influenced that of Persia, upto our days. Amongst authors, of more modern Persian works on history and geography, greater attention was apparently paid to the requirements of European research by Muhammad-Hasan-Khan|| (died in 1896), who bore first the

* "Izvestia" 1918, 311 ff.

† "Inzavestia" 1917, 891-895. The river Iran-Vaedja in Parsi tradition.

‡ About the first articles see index to vol. xx, vol xxiv, 133-144, "On the history of the pre-Islamic culture in Central Asia."

§ More especially "On the ancient Iranian Burial customs and Buildings" -March 1909- "On pre-Islamic culture in the oasis of Khiva" Febr. 1911.

§ ZDMG. xxxviii, 235.

° Proceedings of the Orient. Sect. of the Russ. Arch. Society, part, iv.

|| *ibid*, p. x.

title Saniu-d-Dawla* and towards the end of his life that of I'timadu-s-Saltana.† The following works belong to his pen : (1) "The methodical‡ Nasirian history" (Tarikh-i-Munta-n-i-Nasiri)-the narration is according to years, besides which the events of every year are divided into two rubrics (?)—the Asiatic and the European. Amongst European events, only the most important are mentioned (2) "The Nasiran Mirror of Cities" (Miratu-l-buldan-i-Nasiri)§ a geographical dictionary containing some historical information, (3) The "Rising of the Sub"§ (Mutlau-sh-Shams) and historico-geographical work

* An archaeological journey to Turkestan in 1867.

† Besides that article an article on the coins of the pre-Islamic princes of Bukhara—the Bukhar-Khudats, was published by Lerkh in the proceedings of the third -St. Petersburg- congress of the Orientalists -sur les mennaies des Boukhar-Khoudas Fravaux de la III-me session etc. II, 417-430.- A more detailed but unfurnished article by Lerkh on the same subject in the Proceedings of the Orient Sect, of the Russ. Arch. Sec. p. xviii appeared only in 1909, 25 years after Lerkh's death.

‡ cf. "Zapisski", xxv, 346 ff.

§ Ibid, 348-352.

§ Materials for the Archaeology of Russia published by the Imperial Archaeological Commission, No. 16, 1894. Additions to that book in "Zapisski", ix, 300-303, xi, 327-333 xix, 115-138.

on Khorasan, where the author travelled in the suite of Nasiru-d-Din Shah. The late Prof. V. A. Zhukovsky* calls it a capital work. It contains, besides geographical information, a great deal of valuable archaeological material, old sites and buildings are described sufficiently in detail, with indications as to their dimensions. A great deal of historico-geographical information is also contained in the diary of "The Journey to Khorasan" written in the name of the Shah himself.

Persian literature does not, generally speaking, possess many descriptions of travels, which are, certainly, the most valuable sources for history, more specially so, with regard to the history of culture. Amongst the few, probably, the most important is the description of a journey from Merv to Arabia and Egypt, and back to Balkh, between 1046 and 1052 by Nasir-i-Khosrow, the poet and religious propagandist. It was published and translated by Schefer (there exists besides, a Tehran edition of 1312 A. H. 1894-5 A. D.) *Sefer Nameh-Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosan† etc. public, traduit, et annote par T. Shefer Paris 1881.*

* cf. "Zapiski" xxv, 407.

† Ibid 399.

The number of works on the geography and history of individual districts of Persia is quite considerable. Acad^{*} Dorn published between 1850 and 1858 a series of editions, dealing with the Caspian districts, under the general title "*Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*". The work by Ibn-Isfandayar (13th century) on the history of the same districts (edited by Edw. G. Browne[†] was published in the Gibb Memorial Series (v.11) only in an abridged translation, without the text, and later (1921, new series, v.1) the work by Ibn-al-Balkhi[‡] 12th on Fars (the text alone, edited by Le Strange) appeared in the the same series.

The Persian language was also the chief literary language of the Kurds, independent of Persia, in the

* cf. for it, "The World of Islam" (in Russian) I, (1912) 426 ff. As early as 1865, there appeared a work by A. K. Kazem-Bek, "Bab, and the Babis", translated, next year into French, (JAs. 6, vii, and viii)

† Zapiski, ix, 321-327, xxiv, 33-90.

‡ Ibid, II, 1-24.

§ Materials for the study of the Persian Sect "The People of the-Truth" or the Ali-Ilahi. p. I, 1911. (works on Oriental knowledge published by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Language, fasc. 33) V. Minorsky. Notes sur la secte des Ahle-Haqq. I-II, (published in the "Revue de Monde Musalman" 1920-21.)

West of the Afghans and the Tajiks* of the Middle Ages, and became so in course of time, even with the Turks of Central Asia in the East, not to mention India, historical works in Persian have been written probable in greater numbers than in Persia, itself. The chief work on the history of Kurds, the Sharaf-Namen, by Sharaf Khan o Sharafud-Din, prince of Bidtis† (Bidtis is a city to the West of Lake Van) compiled in 1597, was published in Russia by V. V. Veliaminoo Zernov and translated into French by F. B. Charmay. *Chiref Namen ou fastes de la nation kourde par Chiref-ouddine Prine de Bidlis. Traduits du Persan et commentaires par F. B. Charmay* St. P. 1868-75,

A work on the history of the Afghans was compiled in 1613, long before the foundation of an Afghan state, during the reign of the Great Moghuls, who help under their sway the greater part of present-day Afghanistan, including Kabul, by Haji

* A. A. Bebrinsky in the *Ethnographical Review*, 1902, No. 2, 1-20, A. A. Semonov in the "World of Islam", 1912, 523-561. I. I. Zarublin, in the series published by the Museum of Anthropological and Ethnography, v. V- fasc. I. (1918), 97-148, V. A. Ivanov, in the *Memoirs of the Asiat. Sec. of Bengal*, vo, viii, No. 1 (1922) 1-76.

† Zapiski, xxv, 410, 413, ff.

Nimatullah, under the title of "The Afghan Treasury" (Makhzan-i-Afghani)* Acad. Dorn translated into English an abridged recension of this work—*B. Dorn, History of the Afghans, translated from the Persian of Neamatullah† Lon. 1829-1836.* It is the only one of the "Many" works devoted to the history of the Afghans, which is mentioned in the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie". In the "Encyclopædia of Islami", two more works are named dealing with the history of the founder of the Afghan State, Ahmad Shah Dureani (1747-1773). One of these two works, the "Tarikh-i-Ahmad‡ by Abdul-

* cf. my review in the "Zapiski", xv, 250-256.

† Report on the excavations of the Afrasiyab in 1907. (Proceedings of the Russ. Comm. etc. No. 8, 22-36) Report on the excavations of the observatory of Mirza Ulugh-Bek in 1908 and 1909 (ibid. 2nd series, No. 1, 76-93).

‡ Besides the "Zapiski", a great deal of material on the knowledge of the Caucasus in connections with the political and cultural history of Iran can be found in the "Christian East", which was published since 1912, by the Academy of Sciences and in the "Collection of materials for the description of localities and tribes of the Caucasus" published at Tiflis since 1081. In Index for the twenty first fascicles of the "Collection" (1881-1894) was compiled by E. I. Kozubaky; to him also belongs "An essay on the bibliography of the Daghestan District" (The

Karim, written in the 19th century, represents merely paraphrase of "Husayn Shahi" by Imamu-d-Din Chishti, compiled at the end of the 18th century. Another the "Tarikh-i-Sultani" is a compilation written in the second half of the 19th century. Of more interest is the work, "Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi" by Mahmud al-Husayni,* a contemporary of Ahmad Shah, which is preserved only in one manuscript in the British Museum. The autobiography of Abdu-r-Rapman Khan (1880-1190) aroused some interest even among the larger public. The English translation of it is contained in the first volume of the book by *Sultan Muhammed Khan, Life of Abdur Rahman London 1900.*

The historical literature of Central Asia reached a certain state of development only from the 16th

note-book of the Daghestan Distt. 1895) and its supplement "An essay on the Bibliography of the Dagh. Distt. 1896-1902" (The dagh. Coll. Fasc. I) and Materials for the bibliogr. of the Dagh. Distt." (ibid. fasc. II.) Less satisfactory in the "Jubilee history of the city of Derben" compiled by E. I. Kozubsky.

* The author was, of course, unable to speak in detail about his own works and to define their place among other works. A list of his works, up to 1913 has been published in the Materials for a biographical dictionary of the ordinary members of the Academy of Sciences I. 20-24.

century. The history of earlier events, which took place in Central Asia, before the epoch of Timur and the Timurids is known to us mostly from works, written in Persia. Under the later Timurids, and during the period of the earlier Urbek Khans, there prevailed a tendency to write in Turkish, which also affected the domain of historical literature. The history of the Mongols by Rashidu-d-Din and the History of Timur by Sharafu-d-Din were translated into Turkish for Kunkunchi Khan, 1512-1531, by Muhammad Ali C. Darwise Ali Bukhari.

The works relative to the history of Shaybani-Khan, himself and his nearest successors, were also written in Turkish. Timur's descendant Babur, (born in 1482, died in 1530 A. D.) the adversary of Shaybani-Khan also wrote his memoirs in Turkish, which is, probably, the most remarkable document in the Turkish literature of Central Asia. About every thing that he had heard, or experienced, the author gives a truthful, simple and clear account, without any of the rhetorical flourish after the fashion of the Persian historians of his time. Geographical descriptions, which found a place in his Memoirs, as for instance the description of Farghans, and Samargand, with its district, are considered with full justice as classical. Babur's work was first published in Russia (1857) by N. Y. Ilminsky. Attempts to translate

it were made in Russia, several times, but never brought to completion. In 1905, a facsimile of another and more correct manuscript (it composed the first volume of the Gibb Memorial Series) was published in England. Later (1921) an English translation with notes and additions from other sources was published by A. S. Beveridge. *The Memoirs of Babur. A new translation of the Babur name, incorporating Leyden and Erskine's of 1826 A. D.* The Persian language, however was still widely used in the historical literature of Central Asia, even at the time of Shaybani, and Babur, after their death it again acquired a complete predominance over the Turkish language in that domain. The official history compiled by Shaybani's order was already during his life-time transposed into Persian verse in the manner of the imitations of the "Shah nameh", i.e. rhymed chronicles. The chief documents of historical literature of the Khanate of Bukhara, from the 16th to the 19th century, were composed in Persian. In 1884, F. Feufel made an attempt to give an estimate of the work done by scholars in that field. He took into consideration, the sources of the 16th, 18th and 19th century, which had been made known by such Russian scholars as Veliaminov, Zernov, Senkovskiy and Grigriev, viz. Abdullah-Nama, Hafiz-i-Tanisha, Tazkir-i-Muqimkhani by

Muhammad Yusuf Balkhi and the "Memoirs" of Mirza Shams-i-Bukhari. Of these scholars, only Grigoriev had published the full text and a translation of his source. S. Schefer published and translated a small work, compiled in Constantinople, by Abdu-l-Karim, a refugee from Bukhara, where, besides the information on the history of Bukhara itself, an account is also given of the history of Afghanistan, Khiva (after Nadir Shah) and Kokand. Finally, Feufel himself gave an account of the contents of a new source discovered by him in a manuscript, in the library of the University of St. Petersburg on the history of the reign of Ubaydullah of Bukhara (1702-1711), compiled by Mir Muhammad Amir. Feufel also pointed out the importance of the records of the Persian emigrant Vasifi, with regard to the history of the 16th century. Since then, a whole series of new sources have been discovered. Amongst them, the richest as to its contents is the work by Mahmud C. Vali, compiled in Balkh in 1630 A. D. "The Sea of Secrets" with regard to the high qualities of pious men" (*Bahru-l-assar fi manaqibi-l-akhyar*) or (in another manuscript). "The Sea of Secrets with regard to knowledge (*marifat*) of pious men". As has been since then found out, the author had the intention to write a vast work, in seven volumes: (1) Cosmography and Astrology. (2) the pre-Islamic

period. (3) Muhammad. (4) The Caliphs. (5) Eastern Muslim dynasties of the pre-Mongolian period, (6) Chinghiz-Khan and his descendants up to Nadir Muhammad Khan (at that time, he ruled in Balkh and afterwards in Bukhara) (7) Timur and his descendants in Central Asia and India upto Shah Yahan (1628-1659.) Each volume was divided into four sections. In Western Europe, only the fourth section of the sixth volume is known from a single manuscript (in London, in the library of the India Office). Manuscripts of the three first sections of the same volume have been found in Tashkent and Kakand and an incomplete copy of the first volume in Bukhara.

The Turkish language was more frequently used in the historical literature of Khiva. The work of the Khan of Khiva Abul-Ghazi (born in 1603, died in 1663) "The (genealogical) tree of the Turks" (Shajara-i-turk) was also written in Turkish, although Abul-Ghazi who stayed for 10 years in Persia, hoped to translate his work at later date into Persia. That work contains the history of the Turks and of the Mongols, besides the history of the Khanates of Central Asia, and particularly that of Khiva, up to the days of the authors. The last pages of it are written by Anush-Khan Abul Ghazi's son and successor who brought the narrative up to the time of his

father's death. *Aboul-Ghazi Behadour Khan, Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares, Publics traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaison, J. I. Texte, St. P. 1871, J. ii Introductions, 1874.*

Abul-Ghazi affirms that he did not dispose of any written sources as regards the history of his ancestors, beginning from Chingiz-Khan's grandson, Shaybani-Khan. We know, however, that certain records of historical tradition existed in Khiva, in the 16th century, one of the "Chingiz-Nama" by Utamish Haji has reached us in two manuscripts, of which one is at present in Tashkant, in the library of the Central Asian Government. The other, a much more complete one, used to belong to Ahmad Zaki Validov.

Contrary to the established custom, Abul-Ghazi Khan, was compelled to undertake the compilation of his history himself, personally, because there was no educated man in his state, who might have been entrusted with such a charge. The Khan destined his work for the larger public and tried to write avoiding the use of any foreign words, in such a manner, that it might be understood by a five-year child. He is, in general, faithful, to his promise, although, certainly, he could not do altogether without Persian and Arabic words. Khiva was in another position at the beginning of the 19th century, when

the founder of a new dynasty Ktazar-Khan, who assumed the title of Khan in 1604, entrusted a *mirab* (an official in charge of the irrigation) Shir Muhammad Rahim Khan (1806-1825), the successor of Iltezar (who perished in 1806 during a war with Bukhara) and brought it up to 1812. After that, he was entrusted by order of the Khan, with a translation of Mir Khwand's work, and worked at it up to the time of his death, which took place in 1829, but did not complete even the second volume. Eleven years later in 1840 Allah-Qul Khan (1825-1840) entrusted one Muhammad Riza, a nephew of Munis, who bore the pen-name "Agahi" and who also was employed as *mirab* with the completion of the work of Munis on the history of Khiva. Agahi fulfilled that task, bringing the work of his predecessor up to the death of Muhammad Rahim Khan (1825) and then continued it up to 1872, consecrating a separate work, under a particular title to each of the reigns. Munis and Agahi wrote in Turkish in a less simple style than Atul-Ghazi, but, nevertheless, it is possible to read their works without any particular difficulty. The works by Munis and Agahi, which still remain in manuscript, were used by me for several of my works.

As regards the third, Uzbek state, the Khanate of Kakand, which was formed in the 18th century,

and reached its full development in the 19th century, Tensel remarks that there were no native sources on the history of that Khanate up to the publication of the work by Abdul Karm Bukhari. At present, it has been established that such sources were sufficiently numerous. The language of the historical literature of Khokand, like that of Bukhara was, moreover, Persian. One of these works, probably the most important one, "The Selected Chronicles" (*Muntakhabu-t-tawurikh*) by Haji Muhammad Hakim, ending with the year 1642, exists both in Persian and in Turkish, but it has been proved by the late W. D. Smirnov that the original was written in Persian. Amongst all the sources on the history of the Khanate of Kokand up to our days, only one, and that not the best of them, has been published in full (without any translation). With regard to other existing works, a great deal of information can be found scattered in different publications.

Babur wrote his *Memoirs* in India in Turkish, but his successors were compelled to adopt the literary language of the Indian Muslims, i. e. Persian. Babur's next successor Humayun (1530-1556) adopted already this practice, though the work bearing his name (*Humayun-Nama*) was not written by himself, but was entrusted by him to the historian Khwand-Amir. In remote Kashgharia, where historical

literature was probably less developed than in all other Muslim countries, they wrote in Persian. There exists a remarkable work, "Tarikh-i-Rashidi" written in Kashmir and finished in 1547 by an emigrant from Kashgar, Mirza Muhammad Haydar or Haydar-Mirza, which contains personal reminiscences of the author and the history of the Mongolian Khans of Central Asia, from 1347. The work of Haydar-Mirza, though written in another language, recalls in many respects the Memoirs of his cousin-Babur, with which he was acquainted. The historical narration of Haydar-Mirza bears the same truthful and impartial character, and the chapters on geography are written in the same clear and concise manner. This work was translated twice into Turkish in Kashgharia and became known also in India, Turkestan and Persia. It is accessible to European readers in an English translation. *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, an English version edited by N. Elias, the translation by E. Denison Ross, London 1895.*

In the second half of the 17th century, Mirza Shah Mahmud, wrote in Persian a history of Kashgharia from the second half of the 15th century up to his own days, and used, as his source, for it the "Tarikh-i-Rashidi", but Shah Mahmud's work,

unlike that by Haydar-Mirza is written in a very indifferent and often incorrect language. All later works on the history of Kashgharia were written in Turkish, one of such, the most recent one, is accessible in a printed edition (without translation) and two other works (18th century) remain in Ms. but their contents have been described sufficiently in detail.

Besides historical works in the proper sense of the word, as historical sources can also be considered, works, on the history of literature, i. e. collections of biographical data about poets with specimens of their work annexed, and works dealing with Muslim religious orders. Of both these categories, a considerable number of works are accessible in printed editions, European & Eastern, but hardly any of them have been translated into European languages. One of the rare exceptions an abridged translation of one of the earlier (11th century) works on the history of Muslim mysticism is the 'Revelation of what is concealed' (Kash-ful-Mahjub) by Yullabi, which was published in the Gibb Memorial Series (v. xvii, 1911).

In the present sketch not all the documents on Persian historical literature, which have passed through my hands and have been quoted in my earlier works, have been enumerated. Still less could I have had in view the enumeration of all the

existing documents, in general. In the same way, when compiling my sketch on Arabian historiography, my sole object has been to compose a manual, where non-Orientalists and beginners could find the necessary information for their further independent studies.

*European Investigation of the history of Iran
and of the Iranian culture*

For European historians, Persia had necessarily always formed a subject of interest, if only on account of the importance, which the Graeco-Persian wars had in the history of the Ancient World. Under the influence of the traditions of the ancient culture, Byzantine and mediaeval European historians saw in the history of the Sasanian Empire, even in that of the Caliphate, and of the Muslim Iran, before all, the continuation of the history of Ancient Persia. Agathias wrote in the 6th century that his contemporary king Khosrow Anushirvan had surpassed in glory all the kings of Persia, even Cyrus. For the Frank annalists of the 9th century, Harun-ar-Rashid was a "king of the Persians", in the 12th century they wrote about the defeat of Sultan Sanjar (1141) as the defeat of the Samiardi brethren, kings of the Persians and Medians. For European travellers of the 15th century, Tabriz was Akbatana and Shiraz-Persepolis.

Under such circumstances, in the age of the humanists, there was bound to appear a tendency to collect from the ancient literature information, regarding Ancient Persia, and to connect it with the scarce data available at their time about the later destinies of that country. Titles of several works, written in the 17th century, which have now been long forgotten, are mentioned in the "Literary History of Persia" by Edw. G. Browne. He also points out the importance of the work by Thomas Hyde, published in London in 1700, on "The Religion of the Ancient Persians, and Medians", in which certain views, which were later adopted by scholars, are foreshadowed, although Hyde had no notion whatever either of the language of the Avesta, or of Ancient Persian, or of Middle Persian.

The impressions of the 17th century travellers of the Persia of their days were in general favourable. Persia then was living through an epoch of external splendour, under the rule of the Safavid dynasty, that is why the Safavid capital Isfahan was called by d'Herbelot, "the biggest and the most magnificent city of Asia after those of China." In Herbelot's dictionary, much space is given to materials borrowed from Persian historical works; even the war between Khosrow II (590-628) and the Emperor

Heracius is narrated from Khwanad-Amir's version, but he does not give any general outline of the history of the Persians. He knew that the creator of the new Shia, Persia, Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, had laid firm foundations for the new monarchy."

Of the events of the 18th century, only the victories of Nadir Shah (1736-1747) were able to provoke in Europeans a certain amount of interest in the Persia of their days. But one of the greatest events in the history of the study of Ancient Iran is connected with the 18th century - the first attempt of a European to learn the language of the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrians - the Awesta, and the first attempt to translate the Awesta, into a European language. The young Anquetil du Perron (born in 1731 after having seen in 1754 a few folios of the Awesta from a manuscript in Oxford, made up his mind to go to India in order to get a key from the Indian Zoroastrians to the reading of the incomprehensible ancient text. The details of his romantic journey and his stay in India (1755-1761), where after many efforts he was fortunate enough to find three teachers, have been described from his words many times, ten years later, after his return to Europe, in 1771, he was able to publish his translation, the "Zend Awesta", "ouvrage de Zoroaster."

Anquetil's work caused to appear a vast literature, first as regards the question of the authenticity of the texts, which he brought with him, and then as to the degree of reliability of the traditional explanation of these texts, which Anquetil had learned from his Indian teachers. The first question has been solved long ago, in the affirmative; the second remains disputable up to the present day. Anquetil, who did not possess any philological training, could not have proposed that question. The origination of the question is closely connected with the establishment of the relation between the language of the Avesta and Sanskrit and with the progress in European Sanskrit studies. E. Burnouf was the first to apply in his work, which appeared in 1833, the methods of European philological criticism to the edition and explanation of the Avesta. Much earlier from the very first years of the 19th century, as mentioned by Burnour, attempts had been made, by German scholars, who availed themselves solely of Anquetil's translations, "to produce the image of the Ancient-Persian civilisation". Notwithstanding the absence of a critical edition and the insufficient knowledge of the language, possessed by Anquetil, his translation, according to the opinion of one of our modern scholars, correctly transmitted the general spirit and ideas of the Avesta. His notes and the information, given by him, with regard

to the Zoroastrian ritual, based on a proximate and conscientious observation of Zoroastrian oral traditions and his personal contact with them, remain instructive up to the present day and are superior by their completeness to the information given by later investigations.

From the second half of the 19th century onwards begin the attempts to produce a critical edition and a translation of the complete text of the Avesta in the shape in which it has reached us. At the same time research work was carried on in connection with the questions started both by Burnour regarding the Pahlavi commentaries on and the Sanskrit translations of the Avesta, and the data contained in the Pahlavi literature, with regard to the Avesta and to Zoroaster. It has been established that only a small part of the text, which existed at the time of the Sasanids, and was divided into 21 books, has come down to us. As early as in the 9th century, one of these books (the 2nd) was already considered to be irretrievably lost, moreover, of the fifth book, only the text existed at that time without its Pahlavi commentary. Only one book (the 19th Vandidad) has reached us in its integrality. All the rest are merely fragments from different books. Religious hymns – the so-called Gathas-

stand apart as regards their language, being, probably, a separate and the most ancient part of the Awesta.

In spite of the fact that the nature of the contents of the Awesta, was thus fully established, attempts were still made to consider the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrian, as one whole, as a document of a definite epoch, and as belonging to definite historical surroundings. Such are the contents of the book by *Wilhelm Geiger*: "*Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum, (Erlangen, 1882)*". The object of that book is to give the characteristic of the culture of the "Awesta people" "*(des Avaste-Volkes)*", and it is assumed that the Awesta was composed in its entirety in the Eastern part of Iran, during the pre-Achemenian period. The time, during which the Awesta was being composed, was of considerable duration. The people in the course that period, were migrating from one part of the country to another, and passing through different stages in their cultural development. The upper parts of the Syr-Darya and the Amu-Darya and the valley of the Zarafshan, situated between these two rivers, were the original mother-country of the people of the Awesta who first descended from the basin of the Syr-Darya into the basin of the Zarafshan and thence on to the basin of the Amu-Darya. To the south of the Amu-Darya, along the

Northern declivities of the Hindu-Kush the people found its second mother-country, thence they proceeded partly towards the South, partly to the West, a third epoch in the migrations of the Iranian people is determined by that division into two branches. The spread of Zoroastrianism was connected with transition from the nomadic state to settled life, in consequence of which the religious strife was followed by an economical struggle. The Gathas are an echo of that epoch of fierce religious and economical wars during which the element of nationality receded altogether, into the background. That is why the very word "Aryans" is not encountered in the Gathas. As Geiger puts it, the Gathas were the only one part of the Awesta, which drew its material entirely from the surrounding conditions. Nevertheless, other exts tare taken by him into account in order to explain the life of the "people of the Awesta". All the texts were composed in Eastern-Iranian districts, but their authors—missionaries of the new creed,—came from the West from Media.

This last conjecture is not based on the sacred texts themselves, but on the tradition, which is firmly established amongst the Parsis, i. e. the Zoroastrians of our days. In the same way, as in Sanskritology, so also in the domain of the Ancient

Iranian religion, the question of the degree of credit that may be accorded to the native learned tradition has provoked embittered discussions. The question cannot be considered to have been entirely solved even up to the present day. Even the chronological system of the Parsis, with the exact fixing of the time of Zoroaster's life, in spite of its well-known recent origin and its distinct fictitiousness, enjoys an unmerited amount of credit. It is taken into consideration equally by all the three collaborators of the "*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*," who had to deal with that question—the authors of the articles on the literature of the Avesta, on the history of the pre-Islamic Iran, and on the Iranian religion.

At the same time, as the question about the religious tradition of the Parsis, there arose amongst European scholars, in the second half of the 18th century, the question regarding the value of the Persian historical tradition, to what degree can the Persian traditions, concerning the dynasties of the pre-Alexandrian period, be regarded as a means to supplement the information of ancient authors. Attempts to identify the heroes of the epic with historical kings—Assyrian, Median and Persian were still made in the 18th century, by Sir William Jones, (1746–1794) and have since been repeated

many times, in the books of Malcolm, which was the first attempt of a European scholar, relying on Persian sources to narrate the history of Persia from the most ancient times down to the present day. The part of it, dealing with Ancient Iran, is permeated by the same tendency. Malcolm's work has, at present, of course, become obsolete. Suffice it to say, that he had no means to avail himself of Achemenian inscriptions, while dealing with the history of Persia. When compiling the history of the Muslim period, he makes no difference between compilations and original sources—most frequently, he quotes only titles of marks, without mentioning either the names of their authors, or the time of their composition.

The history of deciphering of the Ancient Persian inscriptions, beginning with the first successful attempt, made by Grotefend (1802) has been narrated many times. The chief merit belongs to Henry Rawlinson, who discovered (in 1836) and deciphered the Behistan inscription. Afterwards, all historians when writing about Ancient Persia, were able to utilise the Achemenian inscriptions, although certain wrong readings resulted sometimes in wrong historical deductions. Thus, there existed at a time, the opinion, which had, later to be rejected, that the Avesta was mentioned in the

inscription of Darius. The history of Ancient Persia has been mostly investigated in connection with the history of other countries of the Ancient East. The progress of research in the domain of the history of Ancient Persia is closely connected with the progress of historical studies, relative to the Ancient East in general, if not in the matter of new discoveries (in this respect, if I am not mistaken, nothing of any importance has been done, since the discovery in 1855 of the Achemenian palace in Suza by Mr. Dieulafoy, and his wife) still as far as the explanation of material is concerned. Edw. Meyer's work "*Geschichte des Alterthums*" the first edition of which appeared in 1884, as B. A. Furaev puts it, "makes an epoch in the history of research." The Achemenian state is dealt with in that work in a most brilliant and, it would seem, scientifically substantiated way.

Attempts have also been made to approach the history of Ancient Persia from the other side, and to consider it as a part of the history of the East in general, and of the Iranian world, in particular. Amongst such attempts, those by Noeldeke are the most interesting. He published in 1885 an article regarding the fifth volume of the "*Roman History*" by Mommsen, which deals with the Roman supremacy and the Roman policy in the East. Noeldeke

calls himself in that article a "dilettante in Ancient History" and treats the historical questions contained therein from the point of view of an orientalist, for whom there is no essential difference in the life of the same Oriental peoples at different epochs. In the same strain are also written his articles in the "Encyclopedia Britannica", the German original of which was published by him separately in 1887. These articles are devoted, (1) to the Median and Achaemenian states, (2) to the state of the Sasanids (3) the city of Persepolis. In the preface, the author mentions his lack of partiality for Eastern peoples and his sympathy with the Greeks, which increased more and more as he went on studying the East. Still more characteristic is that Edw. Meyer, a specialist in the history of the Ancient World, in his review of Noeldeke's work accuses that Orientalist of seeing too much shade on the Persian side and too much light on the side of the Greeks. More well-grounded are Edw. Meyer's objections against the characterisation of Cyrus, as a "savage conqueror", since Cyrus did not really destroy any of the cities conquered by him, not even the rebellious Sardes. Edw. Meyer is less right, perhaps, when he tries to explain the campaign of Darius against the Scythians by some important political considerations, in which Noeldeke sees only

the usual craving for conquests in unknown countries. According to Edw. Meyer's opinion, that campaign was undertaken by Darius with the object of making a rear-attack on the Turanian nomads, who were devastating his territory. The campaign was not successful because it was undertaken, "with insufficient geographical knowledge." "However, this may be, there are no sufficient proofs that Darius and his advisers had any knowledge whatever of the existence of a route to the North of the Black and the Caspian Seas into the Turanian steppes.

Special mention deserve the works of the traveller, and diplomate Count Arthur de Gobineau. Along with his attempts, to compare present day Persia, with Ancient Iran, in the works inspired by his travels, to his pen belongs also a work on the history of Persia, which is brought up only to the beginning of the Sasanian dynasty (in the 13th century, A. D.) In Gobineau's opinion, that event is connected with the triumph in Iran of the "inferior" Semitic culture. The unscientific racial theory adopted in Gobineau's book constitutes its chief defect. On the other hand, the attitude of the Iranians with regard to the Assyro-Babylonian culture is quite adequately compared by him to the attitude of Germans, with regard to Roman culture.

Along with the work of Malcolm is sometimes quoted the work by C. Markham, which appeared more than half a century later, "A General sketch of the History of Persia" (in one large volume.) This work is, however different from that of Malcolm, if only for the reason that its author was not an orientalist, and depended only on such Oriental works, as have been translated into European languages, and on works by European travellers. Under such circumstances there could not have been any question either of his dealing critically with the sources or referring to original works. Mir Khwanad is in the author's opinion the best historian for the period from the Arab conquest up to the accession of the Safavids.

Although of no independent importance, still a useful compilation is the sketch by Louis Dubeux (the first translator of the "Persian Tabari"), *La Perse*, which was published in the series, "*L'univers ou histoire et de description de tous les peuples, de leurs religions mœurs industries, costumes, etc.*" (1841) published for the second time, without any alterations, in 1881. In its geographical part, special attention was given to the monuments of ancient times. The description of the monuments of Behistan and Persepolis is given from Ker Porter (1817-1820). From there also borrowed the illus-

trations, in Dubeux's book. The history of Persia, including that of Alexander, is narrated both according to Greek and Persian sources, but treated separately. The author proceeds in the same way, when narrating the history of the Arsacids, and even that of the Sasanids, although in the last case, it was quite possible to blend all the information available from whatever sources, into one comprehensive chapter. Persian information about the Sasanids is narrated from Mir Khwanad, from the translation by *Silvestre de Sacy* (1793). The author thought that to choose any historian but the one to whom the great savant had given preference, "*serait éloignée de was sentiments de reconnaissance et d'admiration.*" The sketch of the history of Muslim Persia is brought up to the death of Fath-Ali Shah (1834). The characterisation of the rulers up to Agha Muhammad (murdered in 1797) is given chiefly from Malcolm's work. The illustrations representing buildings and achæological monuments, portraits, and drawings of an ethnographical character, borrowed from the works of early travellers, are not without a certain interest.

The best work on the history of Iran from Alexander the Great, up to the accession of the Sasanids, probably, remains up to our days a small book (172 pages). *Alfred van Gutschmid, Geschi-*

chte Irans und seiner Nachburländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden, 1838.

In the time of the publication of the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie", in the last years of the 19th century, and the first years of the 20th century, the compilation of the sketch on the history of pre-Islamic Iran was entrusted to Ferd. Justi (1837-1907), who had written before a sketch on the history of ancient Persia for the Onken series (1879) and a sketch of the history of the Ancient East for another more popular series "*Allgemeine Weltgeschichte* (1884). The interpretation of events in Justi's sketch is far from being perfect, but, one may take it that all the actual material available for research, has been included in Justi's sketch as regards both the information derived from written sources, as materials of an archaeological and ethnological character.

During the 20th century, practically no new material for the history of pre-Islamic Persia has been added, so that the "Grundriss" still serves in that respect its purpose, up to the present time. When Edw. Meyer published, without alterations, eleven years after the first, a second edition of the corresponding volume of his work, of all the new

material, which he ought to have taken into consideration, he mentioned merely the Armaic papyri, discovered in 1907, on the Elephantine island in Egypt and a passage from the "Hellenika", by Theopompus (4th century, B. C.) also discovered in Egypt. To the papyri of Elephantine Edw. Meyer devoted in 1912 a separate work, from which it can be seen that the discovery was of a greater importance as regards the history of the Hebrews than the history of the Persian monarchy. In the latter respect, the Armaic translation of the Behistan inscription is of the greatest interest as confirming and completing the words of the inscription about copies of it, having been sent to provinces.

Besides the material mentioned by Edw. Meyer some interest is also offered by an astrological text published in 1908, which has come down to us in a work, by a Greek author (Tewkros of Babylon) who wrote most probably, not later than the 1st century A. D. The original belonged obviously to an Egyptian of the Persian epoch. The text has been published, and commented on by Cument. It can be seen from it that for an Egyptian author, Italy was the uttermost (?) limit of his geographical horizon.

As monuments of the Arsacid epoch, two Greek documents of the 1st century B. C. are of some

interest, which were discovered in 1909, in Persian Kurdistan, near the Turkish frontier. These documents refer to the sale of portions of land and are interesting documentary evidence of the supremacy of Greek culture under the Arsacids. Together with these Greek deeds a document was found, written in Armaic characters, which as far as I know, has not been wholly deciphered up to this time.

Although the number of sources to be studied has, thus, practically not increased, since the publication of the "Grundriss", nevertheless, a more careful study of former sources has contributed to establish many new facts, of great scientific importance. In the first place, the establishment of the fact that the sculptures, on the tomb of Darius, near Persepolis are meant to impersonate in their national garments representatives of the chief nations, which composed the Achemenian monarchy, and that it is possible to establish definitely from the inscriptions, what nationally each image is supposed to represent. This "peculiar and valuable ethnological museum," remains unmentioned in Justi's sketch. Attempts have also been made to give a more complete and comprehensive estimate of the Sassanian monarchy than it was possible for Justi, whose sketch was based on Noeldeke's work, published in 1879. A

small work by A. Christensen (1907) "*L'empire des Sassanides Le Peuple l'etat second edition of the well-known Einleitung in die altertums-wissenschaft*" (A. Gercke u E. Norden, 1914)

Christensen's book is recommended as the best introduction to the study of the Sassanian epoch, the foundation for which was laid by Noeldeke. These words belong to E. Kornemann, the compiler of a sketch of the history of the Roman empire, comprising a chapter entitled "Neurom und Neupersien". The subject treated in that chapter is wider than one would conclude from its title. The strife between the new Rome and the new Persia is examined as a part of that struggle between (western) Asia, and Europe, which already Herodotus made the fundamental subject of his work. Several times, the term "Iranism" is used, which was introduced by F. Cumont (the investigator of Eastern religions and of the cult of Mithra in particular) in opposition to the term, "Hellenism" created by Drayzen. "Iranism" progresses according as "Hellenism" falls into decay, "in the storms of the terrible 3rd century" (A. D.) Against Noeldeke's opinion, the influence of the new Persia upon the new Rome was stronger than the reverse current. The fusion of Hellenism with Iranism, aimed at prematurely, by Alexander, took place in the epoch of the Caliphate.

but at that moment, Iranism, was predecament? A solid basis for further investigations in that domain will have been created, when the task undertaken by Fr. Sarre and his collaborators – the detailed study of all Persian buildings – has been accomplished.

E. Kornemann did not pay any attention to another obstacle, to a strictly scientific study of the questions, mentioned by him – the most insufficient achievements in the domain of the study of the documents of Muslim Iran, as compared with the study of the pre-Islamic period. That must have become obvious, even for a non-orientalist, after the publication of the "Grundriss", where 155 pages are devoted to the history of the pre-Islamic Iran, and only 54 pages to the history of the Muslim period, although in the latter case, far more plentiful materials are available as sources. Paul Horn (1898–1908), the author of a sketch (compiled in 1898) on the history of Muslim Iran is right, when he says that to compile a detailed history of Persia, which could have taken the place of Malcolm's work is quite impossible at present, as the necessary preparatory investigations have not yet been made and many important sources still remain unpublished. Therefore, the author confined himself to the compilation of a brief sketch trying only to give some idea about the general course of events and without

entering into details. The sketch, however, is written in such a superficial manner, that it is in many ways inferior to the corresponding chapters of Mueller's "History of Islam" (1887). The biographical information given at the end of the separate chapters and borrowed mostly from catalogues of European libraries, may be useful, but that information is not always complete (suffice it to say that only the obsolete French translation of the history of Timur by Sharafu-d-din is mentioned there and nothing is said about the Calcutta edition of the original). The errors, occurring in the catalogues are not rectified, new mistakes are made — thus it is said about one of the anonymous works on the history of Timur that it is compiled for "Timur", although the history of Timur is brought there up to the time of his death and was written about eight years after that event.

Without a detailed study of the written documents, it is hardly possible to accomplish the task suggested by E. Kornemann — a scientific description of architectural monuments. In the absence of written information, contemporary with the monuments studied, the investigator avails himself most naturally of his own observations of the present day life for the explanation of monument of the past. It has been possible to apply this

method of investigation in Persia, even for the study of the Achemenian monuments, owing to the existence even in our days of communities, not very numerous, it is true of partisans of the Zoroastrian religion. E. Flandin, one of the two authors of a work, in which before the invention of photography, the representations of the Persepolis monuments were given, describes the scene of two Persians performing their religious rites by the side of the tombs of Persepolis, witnessed by him, the performance proved to be exactly similar to the one depicted on the upper part of the frontispiece of the tomb.

The same method has been applied, not always successfully, when studying questions of material culture. E. Herzfeld, the chief collaborator of F. Sarre, considers the famous "Kaba of Zoroaster" to be a tomb of a type, which according to him, developed in connection with the type of living houses seen by him. F. Sarre, however, pronounced himself definitely against this opinion and considered with Justi and Jackson, the "Kaba of Zoroaster" to be a fire-temple. Never the less, Herzfeld kept to his own theory and repeated it in his article published in 1921. The rather numerous errors occurring in that article and already discussed by me elsewhere, can be explained to a great extent by

the author's insufficient acquaintance with written sources. The same applies, in a still greater degree, to the works of Ernest Diez. With a different state of research, both with regard to greater accessibility of written information and to greater fulness of information, about architectural monuments. F. Sarre's great work which embraces the monuments of "Persian" architecture in the wider sense of the word, i. e. in the author's idea from Qonya to Samarcand, would have received somewhat aspect. In reality, the domain of "Persian" especially in the sphere of the architectural and extended much further to the East. In Persian style for instance, is built a mosque to the North-East of Kulja, and even a mosque near the ruins of Khara-Khote, investigated by P. K. Kazlov's expedition in 1908 and 1909. Max van Berchem touched upon many important Questions regarding the history of Persian architecture, in his review on F. Sarre's work, but many of his opinions are given as hypotheses owing to the deficiency of the available material. Besides, the necessity of an early and prompt investigation of the buildings themselves, which are rapidly falling into decay for want of proper supervision, he points out still another task : *"il faudrait depouiller avec soin les sources orientales."*

The unfinished "Literary History of Persia" by E. G. Browne may be considered, more or less, as a work on the history of Iran, not only cultural but also political. The author included in his sketch everything, which had been written by Persians in Persian, and excluded all that had been written in Persian by non-Persians (for instance by Indians). Proceeding from Persian literature as such, the author intended to compile a history not of the dynasties of Persia, but of the Persian people itself. The dimensions of the work, the distribution of the material, the division into periods, the characteristic lines of every period—all this was determined by him only during the very process of work. He proposed originally to give a full outline of the history of Persian literature in one volume, then he decided to bring the first volume up to the Mongol invasion. The first volume, which was published, was, however, only brought up to the beginning of the 11th century, and, therefore, according to the remark of the author himself, it contains merely the Prolegomena "to the history of Persian literature. The second volume was, therefore, to be devoted to the history of literature proper. In reality, however, the second volume was only brought up to the middle of the 13th century. To that period, in spite of its comparative shortness,

belong the greater part of the most illustrious poets, and authors, of Persia, and, consequently, it was necessary to give a more detailed account of the authors of that period. The author meant to relate the history of the remaining six and a half centuries, in another volume of the same size. When, however, that third volume appeared (14 years after the second under another title, and in another edition) it proved to cover, like the second volume, only the history of two and a half centuries. The author expressed the hope to be able to devote to the last four centuries a separate volume under the title, "A history of Persian literature in *Modern Times*." His attempt to prove that the first centuries of Islam were in the history of Persia in many respects, the most interesting and also the most fruitful in the domain of intellectual culture, is, in his own words, an abandonment of his former views. The attitude of the author towards the question of the importance of the Mongol invasion in the history of Persia is less clear and more influenced by traditional opinions. The first two volumes are entirely permeated by the view that that event was a catastrophe, not only for the political but also for the cultural life of Iran. This is also the leading idea, in general, in the third volume, but with considerable restrictions. The author recognises that,

in spite of the devastations caused by the Mongols, the period of Mongol Rule was remarkably rich in literary achievements. In a memorial volume, consecrated to E. G. Browne, E. Herzfeld, quotes this view in order to confirm his own opinion, that the annexation of Hither Asia to the rest of the Asian continent caused in many regions a great revival of culture (*einen hohen aufschwung*). As regards the architecture, to which Herzfeld's words refer in the first instance, Gobineau made the same observation although it is difficult to agree with his explanation of this fact, which he attributes before all to the influence of the Mongols themselves, or, at least, of their rulers. Of greater importance, however, was the factor, to which Th. Lindner ascribes the whole of the advantages brought to the West, by the Mongol invasion, i. e. the widening of geographical learning, and, as a result of it, a widening of the general outlook. Th. Lindner merely mentions, that one must fully appreciate this factor, but, pays much more attention to the devastations, made by the Mongols. For the cultural development of a nation, however, the intercourse with other peoples has, probably, the greatest importance, and the "Sole advantage" brought to Persia by the Mongol invasion atones to a considerable extent for all the damages caused by the Mongols

to the country, which suffered much more during the destruction, of the Mongolian empire than during its formation.

Separate instances of inexactnesses and omissions in the book by E. G. Browne, with regard to Persian historical literature, have been already mentioned above. It contains, besides, other mistakes, and oversights. Nevertheless, the scientific importance of this work, both as regards the amount of its material, and the leading views, expounded therein, is very great. The author is quite aware of the limitations of his book, but considers it as its chief object to prepare the ground for a more perfect work in the future. The book fully answers this purpose, and it is not the fault of its author if the progress of research especially slower than one would expect. The information given in the first volume of E. G. Browne's work in 1902, dealing with the beginning of Persian literature, both poetry and prose, were repeated by other scholars, twenty years, later, without any additions.

The attempt made in 1915, just a hundred years after the appearance of the work by Malcolm, to substitute for this obsolete work, a book, which could answer the present day demands shows how very little progress has been achieved in the matter of

research. The numerous blunders made by its author give evidence of his being wholly unequal to the task, which he undersook and have been pointed out by me in my review of that work in two volumes.

In the "Encyclopaedia of Islam" under the word "Iran" (the corresponding fascicle was published in 1921) the word "Persian" (Perse, Persia) is only referred to the "Encyclopaedia" will not be brought as far as the letter P. so very soon. The articles under the headings "Afghanistan" and "Balochistan" have been compiled by the same scholar (M. Longworth Dames) to whom also belong the the greater part of the articles on the East Iranian cities, and dynasties, bibliographical data, annexed to to these articles, especially in the part dealing with history and historical geography, clearly show how little has been done in that domain of research. Thus, in the article on Ghazna (1914) the author, when mentioning the tomb of Sultan Mahmud, of Ghazna, only quotes the description by Vigne, who was in Ghazna, in 1836. The inscription on the door of the tomb was published only in 1918, from photographs and estampages (?)

Still more insufficiently developed in Europe up till now is the study of the history of that part of the Iranian (if not by language, by its character and

the origin of its culture) world, which does not enter into the composition of political and geographical Iran, i. e. chiefly the history of Turkestan. In 1914, an article was published by me in the *Journal "Die Gisteswissenschaften"* dealing with the contemporary state and the most important problems of Western European research in that domain. The history of Turkestan has been seldom examined by European scholars in connection with the history of Iran (an exception — the above mentioned book by F. Sarre on the history of architecture). It has been examined more frequently in connection with the history of the Central Asian nomads, according to the character of the sources, Sinologists appeared in that domain as continuators of works by Islamists, and vice versa. The work by C.D' Ohsson (1834) on the history of the Mongolian empire remains the best up to these days, although it chiefly deals with the Mongolian states in China and Persia, and practically no information is given as regards either the mediaeval Mongolians or the Golden Horde. Recently, an investigation of the Chinese sources on the history of the Mongols has been undertaken by the French sinologist F. Pelliot. It is also by him, partly in collaboration with the late E. Chavannes, that the question of the recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia has been

examined with regard to Iranian cultural influence on China. How little interest there has been displayed in Western Europe, with regard to the modern history of Turkestan can be seen from the fact that the problems proposed by the German scholar F. Feufel, not long before his death (1844) remain still unsolved up to the present day.

V.

Russian Investigations.

A prominent place belongs in the history of Oriental research in Russia to the study of the languages and the literature of Iran, in the domain of history. A far lesser number of works by Russian Orientalists can be found. The words uttered in 1858 by the occupant of the chair of Persian literature at the University of St. Petersburg at that time, Prof. Kazem-Bek, that the history of the East "has practically not at all been investigated by Russian scholars" remain to a considerable extent true even in our days. Even Malcolm's book has not been fully translated into Russian. In 1835, there appeared a translation dealing merely with its final part (about the reign of Afgha-Muhammad and the events which came after it.)

Even the opening of a special course on the history of the East as a separate subject at the

University assisted the progress of research work in that domain in a lesser degree, than might have been expected.

The creation of a chair of history of the East at the University of St. Petersburg was planned as early as 1829, and 1832, but these plans materialised only in the "Regulations of 1863". The creation of that chair had chiefly in view the demands of the linguistic courses, and hence the division of the historical chair, according to linguistic groups, into the history of Semitic peoples, the history of Northern Eastern Asia, and the history of Aryan peoples, of Asia. This division proved to be still-born and had almost no influence either on the development of research work or even on the programmes of the University courses, although it entered the "Regulations of 1864" as regards examinations for degrees, and was in force up to the first years of the 20th century.

Before that, courses on the history of the East were delivered for several years (1835-1843) at the School of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign affairs by B.A. Dorn (academecian since 1839) who later devoted himself especially to the study of the history of the Caspian districts. Besides, the already mentioned editions and translations, Dorn

devoted to the history of that part of Iran several works of research, amongst others, articles on the Shirvan-shahs, and on the rulers, and Khans of Shirvan, which have not become quite obsolete even in our days. Only a part of the first article (up to the 14th century) may be considered as having lost its value after the appearance of the more recent work by E. A. Pakhomov, who although not using for his work any new written sources, had at his disposal some new numistic material. The essay "Caspia" in Russian-Kaspig, chiefly devoted to the invasions (in the 10th century) of Russians into the Caspian districts and their history followed his disciple G. V. Melgunov's book "On the Southern shore of the Caspian Sea" appeared in Russian in 1863 in German (with additions) in 1868. From 1868, up to his death (1873) Melgunov occupied the post of lecturer on the history of Aryan peoples at the University of St. Petersburg, but after his death, this chair was no more filled.

Before the creation of the chair of the history of the East in the Faculty of Oriental Languages, courses in the history of Persia were delivered first by Prof. A. K. Kazem-Bek (1855-58) then by the lecturer by L. Z. Budaghov (1858-63). An idea of what the lectures delivered by Budaghov were like can be derived from the examination programme of

1859. Prof V. Grigoriev, who occupied the chair of the history of the East, from 1863 to 1878, gave, besides an introductory course, only a course on the history of Central Asia in 1878, the lectures on the history of Persia were resumed and K. P. Patkanov professor of Armenian literature, was charged with them, who had occupied himself before with the history of Iran, especially from Armenian sources. To his pen belongs the work "An essay on the history the Sasanian Dynasty", according to the information given by Armenian authors (1863). It appeared in 1866, in a French translation. At the international Congress of Orientalists in St. Petersburg (the 3rd in 1876), K. Patkanov delivered a lecture, published later in the "Proceedings of the Congress". On the pretended expedition of Taklat Palasar to the banks of the Indus, in which he tried to refute the opinion prevailing at that time, regarding the expeditions of Assyrian kings, through the whole of Iran up to its Eastern borderlands. There exists a lithographical edition of Patkanov's lectures delivered to students (from notes taken by S. Oldenburg). A general review of the history of Persia since the Arab invasion (1883-4) and the Modern History of Persia from the 18th to the 19th century. (1884-5).

Although undertaken with a merely philological object, the publications by the Sanskritologist, Prof.

Kossovitch, who also studied the Ancient Iranian languages have very much contributed to the progress of the study of the history of Ancient Iran, viz. his editions and translations of passages from the Awesta (more particularly from the Gathas) and of Ancient Persian inscriptions. A Collection of inscriptions published by him "*Inscriptiones Palaco-persicae Archaemendarum quot hucusque repertae sunt*" (1872) lost its value only some twenty years later. It is nevertheless quoted sometimes even afterwards. Kossovitch was one of the supporters of the opinion that Zoroaster was a historical personality.

Kossovitch's disciple C. G. Zalemann, who was still more of a philologist and was still less interested in historical research, was undeniably the greatest Russian Iranist, and one of the most prominent in Europe. Sketches on the pre-Islamic literature of Iran, both Ancient and Middle Persian or Pahlavi, published by him in 1880 in the popular "*Universal history of literature*" by Korsh and Kirpitchnikov, give such a brilliant description of these documents of Iranian cultural life, that they are of importance even for historians. More than 30 years later, B. A. Turaev, the author of the only general history of the Ancient East in Russian which bears the character of independent research made large use of the first of these sketches.

B. A. Turaev was an Egyptologist and Assyriologist, not an Iranist, therefore, the chapters of his work, devoted to Iran, namely to the Median and Achaemenian reigns (no separate chapter was devoted in his work to the Arsacids) and the Sasanian period remained "outside the scope" of his work, are somewhat inferior in scientific importance to those devoted to Egypt and Hither Asia. Nevertheless, an acquaintance with Turaev's work is necessary for every Russian student of the history of Ancient Iran. B. Turaev does not mention the article by Academ. A. A. Kunik "On the Influence of the Iranian race on the destinies of Semitic peoples", which is now merely of an historical interest, although in its own time, it had some success." It is an attempt to apply an ethnological point of view to the investigation of ancient history.

As a kind of supplement to Turaev's "History of the ancient East" may serve the article by V J. Minorsky "Kalashin, a stele near Topulake Urmiah", in which, besides a description of archaeological monuments, visited by the author himself, are also used the archaeological monuments, visited by the author himself, are also used the archaeological discoveries of Morgan, Herzfeld, Weissbach, and others. Minersky continued thus the tradition of

the earlier members of the Russian foreign office, who availed themselves of being sent on special duty or taking part in some bound ariji-commission in order to pursue historico-geographical investigations. The most prominent worker of that type was N. V. Khanikov, who published, when still in his early youth (born in 1822) his classical work "A description of the Khanate of Bukhara" (1843) which has not lost its importance even today (Khaniken was in Bukhara in 1841). A result of his journey to Persia (1858-59) was the publication of the following works: "Memoire sur la partie meridionale de l'Asie Centrale (1861) (Khanikov also, like Gobineau considered Iran as belonging to Central Asia) and "Memoire sur l'Ethnographie de la Perse" (1866). Both of them were published in Paris and were given a place in the "Recueil de voyages et de memoires publics par la Societe de Geographie" v. vii & viii. In the early fifties Khanikov published a series of articles on the borderlands of historical Iran, namely Derbent and Baku, chiefly of an epigraphical character, the most important of these articles "On Certain Arab inscriptions in Derbent and Baku" was published in the "Proceedings of Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society". A more extensive article on the same subject "Memoire sur les inscriptions

musulmanes du Caucase" was published by him in 1862 in Paris.

Thus Khanikov was quite prepared for the task entrusted to him by the Russian geographical society of editing a Russian translation of the "Erdkunde" of K. Ritter with necessary corrections and additions, which was undertaken by the Society from the funds of P. Gohibkov's donation. Only the first part of that edition saw the light and is at present as obsolete as the German original itself.

Amongst the publications of boundary commissions, the most profitable for research proved to be that of the years 1849-52, the road-Journal, compiled by E. Fchirikov, containing a great deal of valuable historico-geographical material, was published in 1875, by the Caucasian Section of the supervision of M. Gamazov. The reports submitted by members of the same commission on the side of Turkey and Persia were translated by the same Gamazov. The frontier disagreements between Turkey and Persia were several times renewed and the representatives of Russia had to take part in the solution of those quarrels even in the 20th century up to the beginning of 1914. The historico-geographical results of the two last commissions are related in two "secret" volumes of the Materials for the study of the East.

published in 1909, and 1915, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the direction of F.A. Persiani and V.F. Minorsky.

A great deal of information, especially as regards the economical life of Iran, at the present time and in the recent past can be found in different fascicles of the "secret" (which did not in reality contain any government secrets) "Collection of Geographical topographical and statistical materials on Asia", which were published by the Military Educational Committee of the General Staff. Amongst others, the description of the journey of A. Tumansky (1894) from the Caspian Sea to the Hormuz Strait and back formed a part of that collection. It is not possible for us to examine in detail the extensive literature of travel although it is of great interest even for historians, especially as far as descriptions of monuments of the past are concerned. Amongst the most instructive works of that kind is the journey in the East by Berezin (1849-52) (that part of the journey itself as described in the only two volumes that were published took place in 1842.)

The historico cultural investigations by K.A. Inostranzev, which occupy a special place in the history of Russian studies of the East, are devoted

partly to ancient Iran, but more especially to Iran of the Sasanian epoch. The most interesting of these works are "Materials from Arab Sources for the cultural history of Sasanian Persia, Omens and Superstitions" (1907). "Sasanian Studies" (1909). This short article "A Central Asian term in the Sasanian Code" provoked an opposition on the part of Prof. A.A. Freymann, in his article "Does the Central Asian" term really exist in the Sasanian Code. A series of articles, devoted to questions of Ancient-Iranian culture, was published by K. A. Inestrantzев in the "Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences" (Izvestia) and the "apiski" of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, as well as in the "Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction".

The annexation to Russia of several cultural districts, which previously other belonged geographically to Iran, proposer, or were under Russian cultural influence, offered to Russian research a series of new problems. It was possible to approach these problems, both from the point of view of a specialist, in the history of Central Asia and from that of an Iranist. Russian investigators, as early as in the first half of the 19th century, were ahead of Europe, as regards the study of the modern history of Muslim Central Asia.

Immediately after the annexation of Turkestan to Russia, P. J. Lerkh, who previous to that, occupied himself chiefly with the language of the Kurds, and who made a journey into Khiva and Bukhara, as early as 1858, began to work in that domain. In the very year, when the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan was formed, Lerkh was charged with an archaeological expedition to the Syr-Darya the description of which appeared in 1870. Lerkh's articles "Asia", "Bukhara" and "Maverannahr" appeared in 1873-74 in the "Russian Encyclopaedia Dictionary" edited by Berzin, in 1873, just before the campaign of Khiva, Lerkh published an historico-geographical information on the Khanate of Khiva from the most ancient times up to the present day (1877). In course of time, Vesselovsky name was closely connected with all investigations regarding the Samarquand and its environs.

V. A. Zhukovsky's book "Antiquities of the Transcaspian borderland: The Ruins of Ancient Merv" occupies a popular place not only in Russian, but also in general European literature. Such a detailed monograph had never been written before, on any Iranian city, in which both the written information of the past and the monuments of that past, which had been preserved on the surface of the earth were investigated. Zhukovsky intended to

publish a similar monograph describing other Persian cities in the Caspian (at present the Turkoman) district, but this intention did not materialize.

Zhukovsky was the first specialist in Russia, who studied Muslim Persia, but he was in that domain not so much an historian as an investigator of its language and literature. Of all the branches of popular life, he was more particularly interested in religious beliefs. Along with other Russian scholars, (especially Tumansky) he took part in the studies dealing with the Babi sect (came into existence in 1840), which constitute one of the most brilliant pages in the history of Russian studies of the East: to him also belongs an article dealing with the widely spread sect of the "People of the Truth", on which, in course of time, Vellionrsky acquired some supplementary new material. Recently, some articles on the contemporary remnants of the sect of the Ismailis, so powerful in olden times, were published by certain Russian scholars. Zhukovsky, partly himself, partly through his disciples, also collected materials, regarding the political movements in Persia, which were taking place or being prepared and which ended with the establishment of a constitutional government, papers read by him at the meetings of Oriental Section of the Archaeological Society were not published in their time for political reasons. Amongst the persons,

who worked under Zhukovsky's direction, was also the anonymous author of the two fascicles (the first is composed from accounts given by Persians of Teheran—the second — from the Persian newspapers) of the book "The last political movement in Persia" (1906-07).

A great deal of material, especially on the history and archaeology of Turkestan have appeared in periodicals published in Tashkant, Samarqand and other cities, particularly in the "Proceedings of the Turkestan Circle of Lovers of Archaeology" (founded in 1895) and in the "Guide to the District of Samarqand". In fascicle vii, of the latter organ appeared probably the most interesting work of that category, namely, "Materials for the historical geography of the Vilayat of Samarqand" by V.L. Viatkin (1902). The same scholar took part in the investigations regarding Samarqand undertaken by the "Russian Committee of Central-Asian and Eastern-Asian studies in history, archaeology, linguistics and ethnography," which was founded in 1903. Accounts of its works have been published in the "Izvesta" of that committee.

The present brief review of Russian works on the history of Iran and of the regions under Iranian culture (i. e. in the first instance Transcaucasia and Turkestan) does not pretend to be exhaustive.

Those who are interested in this subject can find a great deal of information scattered throughout the chief organ of Russian Oriental research the "Notes of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society" (Zapiski). The last decade shows in this domain as in all other domains a certain slackness of productivity in research work, in order to re-establish regular research work, it would be necessary to guarantee the further existence of a special organ devoted to the knowledge of the East in general, moreover, taking into consideration, the wide scope of the problems of Iranistics, it would be extremely desirable that a special organ should be founded for that branch of Oriental studies, an organ still lacking both in Russia and in Western Europe.

Notes on references given on pages 100 to 112.

Page 100, line 7, word "Art".

In *Zeitschr fur rgl. Sprachf.* 42 (1909) 26 foll. where the Iranians are compared with the Turks as regards the extensions of the region of their migrations. Of more early works, see, for instance, W. Tomaschek, *kritik der altesten Nachrichten uber den Skythischen Norden* (SCW, 116 and 117) W.F. Miller, *Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, October 1886 : F. Braun, *Researches in the domain of the Getho-Slavonic relations* 1899, pp. f. 3 foll. (in Russian.)

Page 100, line 9, word "Khazars".

Regarding Alans see the essay in Russian by Prof. J. Kulakovsky, "The Alans according to the accounts given by classical and Byzantine writers" *kiev*, 1899.

Page 100, line 15, word "Unity".

M. J. Rostovtsev, *Ellinism, and Iranism in the South of Russia* 1918, p. 139.

Page 100, line 16, word "Japheltids".

Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction, 1909, January 71.

Page 101, line 4, word "Asia Minor".

cf. M. J. Rostovtsev's work reviewed by B. V. Farmakovsky in the *Russian Historical Journal*, book 7 (1921) pp. 203-208, the end.

B

Page 101, line 15, word "history".

In the above mentioned review, p. 206.

Page 101, line 16, word, "Japhetic".

Ed. Meyer in Zeitschr. fur vgl. Sprachl. XLVII, 24.

Page 101, line 25, word "Opinion".

His article under that heading (Ueber das erste auftreten der Arier, SPAW, 1908) is quoted by B. A. Turaev, History of the Ancient East, I, 76.

Page 102, line 4, word 'Ganjah'.

F. Born, Die Mitanni - Sprache, 1909.

Page 102, line 13, word 'Sakas'.

E. Ferrer, Die acht Sprachen der Beghazkei-Inschriften, SPAW, 1919, 1029-1041.

Page 102, line 25, word '1902-3'.

Thereabout, besides P. Jensen, Incicee Zahlwerter in Zeilschriftlichen Texten, ibid, 367, foll.

Page 103, line 3, word 'Languages'.

J. Strzgewski Altai-Iran Volkerwanderung, 1917, 187, foll. of Preceedings of the ATMK (in Russian) II, 364.

Page 103, line 10, word 'Khotan'.

A few fragments were discovered earlier by Sven Hedin (journeys of 1893-97) and especially by the expedition of Reberevsky and Cozlov (1893:5)

Page 103, line 18, word 'Language II'.

Thereabout, for instance, E. Leumann in ZDMG 51 (1907), pp. 648-658, in Russian, N. D. Mirenov in

Zapisky Vestchnage Otcleleniaya, xix pp. xxii-xxiii; xxi, ele7-ell4. Stael Holstein in Zapisky, xx, 016-020, Helstein's theory Jarl Charpentier, in ZDMG 71 (1917) foll. Recently, several articles in SPAW 1919 and in Festschfeft fur Frr. Hirth, Berl. 1920 (Ostas. ztschr. viii), earlier in ZDMG 71 (1917)

Page 104, line 1, word 'tokhars'.

The term "nordarisch" was proposed by Leumann (Zer nordarischen Sprache und Literatur, 1912) Characteristics of the same language, as Iranian, for instance Luders, Die Sakische, Mura (SPAW, 1919, 734, foll.)

Page 104, line 3, word 'Buddhist'.

All the three terms in the abovementioned Luders' article. An attempt at characterising the contemporary (1920) situation of the question was made by S. Feist in Festschrift fur Fr. Hirth, pp. 74-84, "Der gegenwartige Staud des Focharerproblems."

Page 104, line 8, word 'Holstein'.

Comptes rendus des se'ances de l'Academic des Inscr. etc. 1913, p. 671.

Page 104, line 14, word 'Language II'.

R. Gauthiet, De l'Alphabet segdien JA, 10, xvii, 81-95.

Page 104, line 20, word 'Saghdian'.

On the language of the Manichean and Christian fragments F. C. Andreas in SPAW, 1910, 307-314, on Buddhist fragments especially R. Gauthist in several articles (for instance YA, 10, xvii, pp. 81-95, xviii, 79-

67, six, pp. 163-163, 429-510, Mem. de la Sec. ling de Paris, xvii, pp. 137-161; 357-367.)

Page 104 line 22, word 'Al-biruni'.

Especially E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot. Un traite manischen retrouve on Chine, YA, 10, xviii, pp. 499-617, II, I, pp. 99-199, 261-394, Also P. Pelliot. Les influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale eten Extreme Orient, 1911, (from the Revue d'hist. et. de litt religieuses) A. Stein, Ruins of Desert Catay, 1912, II, p. 186, B. Laufer Sino-Iranica, 1919, (Chicago's Field Museum of Natural history. Authrop. Series, vol. xv. No. 3.

Page 105 line 12, word 'Persia'.

GN, 1911, 9.

Page 105, line 18, word 'eastward'.

B. A. Farmakovsky in the Russian Historical Journal VII, quotes "Herzberg" read "Herzfeld" Iranische Felsreliefs, although that book does not contain any such definite statement about the Iranians having had nothing besides the heirloom received from their predecessors.

Page 105, line 24, word 'Manchurians'.

The words of Halevy quoted by E. G. Browne, A lit. history of Persia, I. p. 29.

Page 106, line, 4 word 'Saghdian'.

Ed. Meyer, Ursprung, und aufange des Christen-tunes, Stuttg. Berlin, 1921, II. pp. 58-94.

Page 106, line, 12, word 'Ancient-Iranian'.

Die erste Personlichkeit die schopferiscn gestaltend in die Religionsgeschichte eingreift 58.

E

Page 106, line 14, word 'Mazadaism.'

Die easte der grossen Weltreligionen.

Page 106, line 18, word 'Saghdian'.

Vell geringschätzung schauten sie auf die Forheit der Volker herab, welche die Gotter in Bildern von Menschenhand oder in engen Tempelhezirken hausend dachten.

Page 106, line 20, word 'temples'.

B. Turaev, History of the Ancient East 2, II p. 203.

Page 106, line 21, word 'refugees'.

The translation of F. H. Weissbach, Die Keilmschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis Abh derphil-hist. Kiasse derkon Sachs. ges. der. wiss, xxxix, 1, 1911, p. 26,

Page 107, line 1, word 'religion'.

To that are pointing also the words of Herodot (iii, 79).

Page 107, line 3, word 'extol'.

Turaev, o. c. II, p. 179.

Page 107, line 6, word 'Aryan'.

e. c. II, p. 73. (starrer Ritualismus und Formalismus.)

Page 107, line 13, word 'Christians'.

Turaey, o. c. II, p. 207.

F

Page 107, line 15, word 'World empire',

How unwillingly any superiority of the Polity as compared with the Assyro-Babylonian statecraft was recognised by them can be seen from the words of H. Winckler *Helmolt's Weltgeschichte*, III. 151: "Wir wissen, dass es weder die erste noch die dauerhafteste, wenn vielleicht auch -sin- ousgedehnte Er. scheinung, senier Art Also translated in Russian, p. 151.

Page 107, line 19, word 'temples'.

His words were often repeated, for instance : T. V. Prasek, *geschichte der Meder und Perser* II, p. 233 of. also *Geschichte des Alterthums*, II, Th. I. p. 24.

Page 107, line 22, word 'Darius'.

The well known verse of Virgil (*Aeneid*, vi p. 853).

Page 107, line 23, word 'Ahuramazda'.

Turaev, o. c. II, p. 168, *Grundriss*, II. p. 423.

Page 108, line 2, word 'Subject'.

Th. Lindhner, *Weltgeschichte*, I, p. 161.

Page 108, line 6, word 'Persian'.

cf. for instance, the eloquent pages in Tarmakovsky's book on "The artistic ideal of the democratic Athenians", o. c. II. 215.

Page 108, line 7, word 'Persia'.

Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des alterthums*, III. Th. I, p. 121.

G

Page 108, line 9, word 'Meyer'.

Ibid. 122, "Schwerlich sind die Baumeister und Bildhauer der Paläste und Gräber perser gewesen."

Page 108; line 17, word 'gaumatox'.

Herodot, iv, 88, Regarding the question as to how far the remnants of Persepolis themselves testify to a part taken by Greek artists the opinions of specialists sharply diverge cf. for instance, F. Justi, Geschichte der Orient, Völker im Altertum, 405, ("wie die ganze Färbung den Eindruck hellenischer Kunstwerke in persischem Gewande erweckt") U.E. Herzfeld, Tr. Teheran, 145, (Weder in Prinzipien der Darstellungen, noch die Vortragsweise lassen auch nur einen Hauch griechischen Geistes verspüren.)

Page 108, line 19, word 'Darius'.

Zapissky, xxii, p. 258, foll.

Page 108, line 23, word 'thesis'.

cf. the words of Herodot, himself, iv. p. 44.

Page 108, line 25, word 'dualistic'.

Turacv, e. c. II, p. 262, Zapissky, 265.

Page 109, line 1, word 'struggle'.

Zapissky, xxii, 266, note 1, also quotations from Strabo, s 575, and A. V. Gutschmid, Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer, 30.

Page 109, line 2, word 'Judaism'.

A. Christensen, l'emire des Sassanides, 1907, 7.

H

Page 109, line 3, word 'Manicheism'.

cf, Zapiscky, xxii, p. 264, regarding Marquart's opinion and the suppositions of Gutschmid, o.c. 137.

Page 109, line 7, word 'Meyer'.

Grundriss, II, 34, (K. J. Geldner) and 510 (F. Justi) in favour of the later opinion speaks very categorically Ed. Meyer (Ursprung und Aufzuge des Christentums, II, 74) without, however, giving any reasons for it

Page 109, line 10, word 'prophets'.

Dinkard (9th century) last chapter, book 8, Grundriss II, 38.

Page 109, line 11, word 'Zoroastrianism'.

To that epoch, refer almost all the informations of Strabo, although he wrote later, in the 1st century A.D. about Ktesiphon, see 743.

Page 109, line 14, word 'Sasanian'.

The words of Gutschmid (e. c. 164) "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat von dem Jahre 58 an Konisene die ostlichste Satrapie des Arsacideureichs" have not been disproved, to my knowledge, to the present-day.

Page 109, line 22, word 'Empire'.

On these monuments see e. g. Grundriss II, 486 pp. The connection between the Sasanian and the Achemenian monuments seems to be somewhat exaggerated, in "Iranische Felsreliefs" by Herzfeld, especially pp. 242, ff.



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